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THE CHICANO AND THE ANGLO NEWS MEDIA:
Reality Through the Eyes of Two Cultures

by

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CHIC305: Chicano Family

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1987

Joe:
Good analysis,
well documented
Some words on the
worth of the topic?
Effects on family
lifestyles, family,

The 1967 Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders leveled an accusing finger at the News Media for its role in alternately ignoring and abusing the minority situation in the U.S. and for contributing to the atmosphere of racial tension without actually addressing the grievances of the minority community.[1] The purpose of this paper is to look at the treatment that the Chicano community has received from the Anglo Press and to work towards a Chicano response, keeping in mind two fundamental beliefs of the Anglo Press.

which?

A short history of the media coverage afforded the Chicano community is quite possible because, with the exception of periodic "Race Riots" and other disturbances, the Chicano community did not exist in Anglo News Media before the 1960's. Felix Gutierrez writes:

> A survey of magazine citations in the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature from 1890 to 1970 reveals very few article about Latinos in the United States. Articles that were listed often had a crisis or negative overtone. That is, they were written during periods when Mexican labor or immigration impacted national policy or when Latinos were involved in civil strife.[2]

Thus, for the Anglo press, media coverage of the Chicano community began in 1848 as a brief footnote regarding

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[1]United States. Report of the National Advisory Commission On Civil Disorders. (New York: The New York Times Company, 1968). pp. 382ff.

[2]Felix Gutierrez. "Latinos and the Media" in Readings in Mass Communications: Concepts & Issues in the Mass Media. 5th edition. eds., Micheal Emery and Ted Curtis. (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Publishers, 1983). p. 165.

some desert territory won in a military skirmish. The media coverage then fell silent, with the exception of periodic memos regarding a few troublemakers, until the said troublemakers became unavoidably audible during the 1960's.

What was the Anglo News Media's reaction to the now vocal Chicano community? One time Los Angeles Times writer, Ruben Salazar once noted:

> The media, having ignored the Mexican-Americans for so long, but now willing to report them, seem impatient about the complexities of the story. It's as if the media, having finally discovered the Mexican-American is not amused that under the serape and sombrero is a complex Chicano instead of a potential Gringo.[3]

In a nutshell, the Chicano complaint is that the Anglo Press not only ignores the issues that are important to the Chicano community but habitually portray the Chicano community in a poor light. Felix Gutierrez writes:

> "Coverage of Latinos in Anglo media has increased with the population growth [of Latinos]. But news reporters still tend to place too much emphasis on stories featuring "problem people"---Latinos either causing or beset by problems, such as undocumented residents, youth gangs, or recent arrivals. Other stories often have a "zoo appeal" by featuring Latinos on national holidays, celebrating cultural fiestas, or in their native costumes. While more examples of accurate news reporting can be found now than in earlier periods, the media's preoccupation with "problem people" and "zoo stories" ignores many of the important daily happenings in

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[3]Gutierrez. p. 166.

the Latino community."[4]

The complaint is this: though the Chicano community has been a part of this country's heritage for a long time (predating Jamestown) and though Chicanos have given their lives in this country's wars, something as simple as acknowledging their egalitarian existence seems forever beyond their reach.[5] And in their day to day existence they are reminded of this fact by the continued absence of their presence, as anything other than troublemakers, in the Anglo press. Very much parallel to the treatment of the Black community by the Anglo press, statements made in the 1967 Kerner Commission Report could be applied to the Chicano community:

> The media report and write from the standpoint of a white man's world. The ills of the ghetto, the difficulties of life there, the Negro's burning sense of grievance, are seldom conveyed. Slights and indignities are part of the Negro's daily life, and many of them come from what he now calls "the white man's press"---

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[4]Gutierrez, p. 166.

[5]David Villar Ruiz. A Soul in Exile: A Chicano Lost in Occupied Land. (Los Angeles: Vantage Press, 1981). Bookends with Richard Rodriguez's Hunger of Memory. A Chicano heading in the other direction--from the turbulent Vietnam years to a search for ethnic identity---a diary of la marcha de la Reconquista.

The fear and helplessness, the brutality and raw-racism of the police, the bitter sense of betrayal from a man that had risked his life for his country in a Southeast Asia and now was paid back with second class citizenship. It approaches the early Chicano movement on a personal level which dovetails nicely with Lewels' academic The Uses of the Media by the Chicano Movement.

> a press that repeatedly, if unconsciously, reflects the biases, the paternalism, the indifference of white America. this may be understandable, but it is not excusable in an institution that has the mission to inform and educate the whole of our society.
>
> . . . Most newspaper articles and most television programming ignore the fact that an appreciable part of their audience is black. The world that television and newspapers offer to their black audience is almost totally white, in both appearance and attitude.[6]

For the Anglo, however, the problem isn't so much equal time in the Press but that the Chicano community seems adamant about not assimilating. Francisco Lewels writes:

> When Dr. Jack Forbes, sociologist, testified at the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights hearing in San Antonio, Texas in 1968, he was asked by the General Counsel, "Why hasn't the Mexican-American assimilated in the Southwest?" he answered, "Excuse me, sir, but that is the wrong question. Why hasn't the Anglo assimilated?" Perhaps the point Forbes was trying to make was that not only are Mexican-Americans equal in numbers in some places in the Southwest to the Anglos, but they were there first and, whereas most can speak some English, relatively few Anglos can speak Spanish.[7]

For the Anglo and the Anglo Press, their culture is the American culture. And not only is their culture the American culture, but being the American culture it is the superior culture.

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[6]United States. Report of the National Advisory Commission On Civil Disorders. (New York: The New York Times Company, 1968). pp. 366, 383.

[7]Francisco J. Lewels, Jr. The Uses of the Media by the Chicano Movement: A Study in Minority Access. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974). p. 10.

> [Our society] equates Anglo-American origin and Anglo-American ways with virtue, with goodness, even with political purity. Other cultures are not merely different; they are inferior. They must be wiped out, not only for the good of the country, but for the good of the child. Not only must he learn to speak English; he must stop speaking anything else.[8]

Those are not the words of some neo-Nazi but of the former U.S. Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe II. The Anglo culture suffers from an unfortunate strain of color blindness that associates only white with right. And as long as it is under the influence of this myopia they simply cannot see the difference between their Anglo culture and the mythical American "melting pot."

There are two factors that I see standing in the way of the Chicano community getting fair treatment in the Anglo News Media. The first is this confused identification of the "American Way" with the Anglo Culture. The second is with regards to the Myth of objectivity that the Modern News Media foists upon the reading public.

> The press . . . . must print the truth fully and fearlessly. It must not print biased propaganda as news. It must give the public accurate information. It must open columns to free and illuminating discussion. It must do its full and impartial duty in enabling the citizenry to conduct their democratic government wisely and successfully.[9]

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[8] ibid.

[9] Edmond D. Coblentz, ed. Newsmen Speak. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954). p. 41.

The First Commandment of the Fourth Estate, in the words of William Randolf Hearst, is objectivity. Objectivity is the cornerstone of the Modern News Media. If anyone should know about the Modern News Media it would have been William Randolf Hearst. He certainly owned enough newspapers to put his principles into practice. Observe, for example, how he handled the Los Angeles Race Riots in the 1940's:

> Guy Endore, one of the chief protagonists for the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee, maintains that the crime wave was the result of a directive from Hearst himself to all hearst editors. According to Endore the teletype message from Hearst read:
>
> " . . . Chief suggest L.A. editors make survey of crime reports---all types--with particular emphasis on numbers of police bookings of Mexican and Negro citizens---and or aliens. Chief suggests L.A. editors transmit findings to all other Hearst editors."
>
> Even though there was no actual evidence of a crime wave among Chicano youth, the press was able to fabricate one by running sensationalized stories and getting 'stooges,' prominent personalities anxious for publicity, to make statements about Mexican crime.
>
> ". . . even if there is no Mexican crime, there's nothing to stop you from printing what these prominent citizens are saying about Mexican crime, even if it is to the effect that it is nothing to be worried about. All this is printed under some sort of scare headline calculated to give the hurried reader the impression that Mexican crime is a real problem."[10]

Well, obviously, objectivity is in the eye of the beholder.

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[10]Alfredo Mirande. The Chicano Experience: An Alternative Perspective. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1985). p. 79.

Dan Schiller writes in a book titled, Objectivity And the News:

> An invisible frame brackets news reports as a particular kind of public knowledge and a key category in popular epistemology. News reports repeatedly claim that, ideally at least, they recount events without the intrusion of value judgements or symbols. News is a map, a veridical representation, a report on reality, and hence not really a story at all, but merely the facts---this is the claim. But news---akin to any literary or cultural form---must rely upon conventions. Formally created and substantially embodied conventions alone can be used to contrive the illusion of objectivity. How else could we recognize news as a form of knowledge?[11]

Reality is a multi-directional multi-sensual phenomenon. News writing is a linear abstraction of this multi-directional multi-sensual phenomenon. Something of the Reality is stripped away and something of the writer is added in its conversion to becoming a "news story." More specifically, our cognition and therefore our recording of the Reality is at best an approximation of the Reality. There are more accurate and less accurate approximations, but in all cases, something is stripped away and something is added.[12] Is it surprising than that the Anglo News Media reflects the

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[11]Dan Schiller. Objectivity And the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981). pp. 1-2.

[12]I operate as a writer under the philosophy of Fairness. That is, because true objectivity is an impossibility, than in an atmosphere of controversy or non-resolution, major points of view should be aired with special attention toward their Emic values. I have adapted this view from that of Joseph Farrar, Executive News Editor of the Los Angeles Herald Examiner.

prejudices, interests or ideas of the Anglo culture (although it may be more accurate to identify these prejudices, interests or ideas with its buying public)? Would anyone be surprised that if the shoe were on the other foot and the Chicano Media were in a position of dominance that it would reflect the prejudices, interests or ideas of the associated Chicano culture? Therefore, the Chicano's cry of unfair to the Anglo News Media is true only in terms of the Anglo News Media's claim to complete objectivity.

So the Anglo News Media stands behind its ill-conceived belief in the "American Way" and the "Myth of Objectivity," all the while telling the Chicano community that denial of the Chicano community's heritage is required before it can become anything more, for example, than a crime story for the Metro section of the Los Angeles Times.

With such an ultimatum is it any wonder that the Chicano community rioted in the late 60's? Such is the dilemma for those of us that would live a bi-cultural life in a uni-cultural society. Assimilate or segregate. But as the

Kerner Commission found in the late 60's,[13] neither course will create the kind of response that would satisfy the Chicano community. Both responses render the Chicano culture as being something inferior to the dominant Anglo culture, the first by robbing the Chicano of his ethnic heritage and the second by denying the Chicano access to the cultural mainstream.

With regards to the Chicano community and the Anglo News Media, I have to reject any view that would call for the assimilation of the Chicano into the Anglo Press or the other view that would be satisfied with an alternative Press. For the same reasons listed above in terms of ones ethnic identity such an either/or approach perpetuates the "Chicano/inferiority" myth.

As such I believe that the course of action to take is integration without assimilation. Integration without

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[13]Tom Wicker writes in the Introduction to the Report of the National Advisory Commission On Civil Disorders (p. vii):

> Conceivably the nation could continue its present failing efforts toward an integrated society, including the present proportion of its resources devoted to social and economic programs; or it could abandon integration as a goal and commit increased resources to "enrichment" of life in the ghetto--thus presumably making it bearable without producing violence against white society.
>
> The first of these is hopeless; not only will it tend to produce more and more ghetto violence but it is an obvious fraud, in terms of its ability to produce anything like integration . . . .
>
> The second course is rejected here with equal frankness, as simply another method of producing a permanently divided society.

assimilation is socially revisionistic. Beginning from a position of personally appreciating our personal ethnic heritage (which we alone bear the responsibility of educating ourselves in) and recognizing the foreign nature of the dominant culture and the paradigms that its News Media operates under, integration without assimilation adds one more facet to the hetereogenious nature of the dominant culture. Los Angeles Times editorial writer, Frank del Olmo urges Chicano activists:

> Try to understand the inner workings of the media, and to cooperate with reporters and editors rather than criticizing them. I also advise against confrontational-style tactics, such as boycotts, which can be counterproductive.
>
> If the news media are going to change, the most effective pressure for change will come from inside the profession, among journalists themselves, rather than from outside pressure groups. And the best way to make the news media more sensitive to minority groups is to have more Latinos and other minority people in the newsroom.[14]

This tactic is often criticized for being ineffective. Salvador Valdez wrote a letter to the El Paso Times after a Mexican Independence Day demonstration in 1972:

> The local papers have only a few Spanish surnames to add color to their staff. But these reporters are like worms inside holes who cannot come out because their heads are cut off by their racist editors. Therefore, they move ineffectively underground.[15]

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[14]Frank del Olmo. "Changing World: Latinos and the Media." Los Angeles Times. April 24, 1987. part II, p. 13.

[15]Lewels. p. 45.

But the fact of the matter is, with only 8% of those working within the ranks of profession journalism coming from minority communities (not mentioning how small the Chicano representation is) from a national population of 18%,[16] the infiltration or integration without assimilation tactic has not been fully implemented. Granted, it is a very slow method with all of the limitations of working within a foreign framework. But this method is more realistic, having better long range benefits, in view of the fact that it reflects the kind of dialogue that must take place on a social/cultural level between the Anglo culture and the other ethnic cultures. In a society that calls itself Democratic, the rights must be balanced with the responsibilities between and within groups, or else we will always have the kind of divided society that sparked the Anger of 1967 riots.

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[16]del Olmo. part II, p. 13.

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The Chicano & the Media

1 IDEAS

Mirande claim of press part of anglo conspiracy to supress the chicano ----> bad press a la el bandido/el loco vato/etc. (chapter 4)

QUESTION: WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE PRESS? Theory of objectivity in a subjective world.

POSSIBLE TITLE: "The Chicano and the News Media: Is There Objectivity in a Subjective World?"

OBJECTIVITY & MINORITY EXPECTATIONS . . .

2 SOURCES

2.1 CHAVEZ, "Crime Breeds Decay in Placentia Barrio"

Chevez, Ken. "Crime Breeds Decay in Placentia Barrio: Older Residents of Latino Santa Fe Sistrict Say New Immigrants Are Importing Violence." +Los Angeles Times+, March 30, 1987, part II, p. 1.

2.1.1 comment

*** more bad press for the Chicanos

2.2 CHURCH, "Hispanics: A Melding of Cultures"

Church, George. "Hispanics: A Melding of Cultures." +Time+, July 8, 1985, p. 36.

2.3 COBLENTZ, +Newsmen Speak+

Coblentz, Edmond D., ed. +Newsmen Speak+. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954).

2.3.1 quotes & comments

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST, founder, Hearst newspaper empire:

"The ethics of journalism are the hightest of any profession in the world. A lawyer may take any kind of case for pay, and is protect by the elastic ethics of his profession. A conscientious journalist must conform to his own ideas of right and justice, and to the high standards the public has established for him." (p. 39)

"The press . . . . must print the truth fully and fearlessly. It must not print biased propaganda as news. It must give the public accurate information. It must open columns to free and illuminating discussion. It must do its

full and impartial duty in enabling the citizenry to conduct their democratic govenment wisely and successfully." (p. 41)

*** see Mirande quote

2.4 COUGHEY, "Newspapers & Color Blindness"

Coughey, Bernard. "Newspapers and Color Blindness: an address by Thomas Winship." +Editor & Publishers+, October 27, 1984, p. 44.

2.4.1 comment

*** see index card

2.5 del OLMO, "Changing World: Latinos and the Media"

del Olmo, Frank. "Changing World: Latinos and the Media." +Los Angeles Times+, April 24, 1987, part II, p. 13.

2.5.1 comment

20 years after Kerner the news media is still not integrated (minorities = 18% of the population & only 8% of the journalists). Don't use 60's tactics (eg., protest and boycott), use infiltration tactics. JRefleect minorities concerns when minorities fill the positions.

2.6 FREEDMAN, "Los Lobos"

Freedman, Samuel G. "Los Lobos: They Draw On Their Heritage To Portray the Chicano Community. They Also Play Some Pretty Mean Rock & Roll." +Rolling Stone+, March 26, 1987, p. 86.

2.6.1 quotes & comments

"All the people we write about," Perez says, "are resilient. They bounce back from what seems like the worst thing that ever happened to them." (p. 148)

"Because Los Lobos have stayed in and around East L.A., they continue to see the scenes and hear the tales. One night, while Hidalgo is eating dinner at a favorite Whittier restaurant, Pollo Ranchero, a friend tells how the farm land he has leased and tilled for years is being sold out from under him. Tow days later Perez is driving on the outskirts of town. At a traffic light, a young Chicano, his face caked with dust, sweat and auto exhaust, is selling one-dollar bags of oranges to motorists. He has probably been deposited that morning by a grower, who will pick him up at nightfall, and collect the better part of the take. It is not hard to imagine that the

oragne seller or the displaced farmer will appear in some way in the next set of Los Lobos songs. And if they do, they will be right at home, two more Chicano portraits in a kind of memory book.

"'You grow up in a neighborhood like East L.A., it's a big struggle,' rosas says, 'I'm not saying it's a hard-core ghetto, but people have to work so hard at these sleazy jobs just to make the rent. And our families weren't exactly rich. And so you say you made it, then you step back and realize it was a struggle. You feel it here.' He touches his heart. 'And so youwrite a song.'" (p. 149)

2.7 GUTIERREZ, "Latinos and the Media"

Gutierrez, Felix. "Latinos and the Media" in +Readings in Mass Communications: Concepts & Issues in the Mass Media.+ 5th edition. eds., Micheal Emery and Ted Curtis. (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Publishers, 1983).

2.7.1 quotes and comments

Felix Gutierrez writes in an article entitled "Latinos & the Mass Media": (+Criticism of the Mass Media: The Minority Viewpoint+, p. 166)

"Coverage of Latinos in Anglo media has increased with the population growth [of Latinos]. But news reporters still tend to place too much emphasis on stories featuring "problem people"---Latinos either causing or beset by problems, such as undocumented residents, youth gangs, or recent arrivals. Other stories often have a "zoo appeal" by featuring Latinos on national holidays, celebrating cultural fiestas, or in their native costumes. While more examples of accurate news reporting can be found now than in earlier periods, the media's preoccupation with "problem people" and "zoo stories" ignores many of the important daily happenings in the Latino community." (p. 166)

"[Ruben] Salazar . . . predicted that Anglo news media would not find the Chicano community easy to cover. 'The media, having ignored the Mexican-Americans for so long, but now willing to reprot them, seem impatient about the complexities of the story,' Salazar continued. "It's as if the media, having finally discovered the Mexican-American is not amused that under the serape and sombrero is a complex Chicano instead of a potential Gringo.'" (p. 166)

2.8 LEWELS, +The Uses of the Media by the Chicano Movement+

Lewels, Francisco J., Jr. +The Uses of the Media by the Chicano Movement: A Study in Minority Access+. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974).

2.8.1 CHAP 1: THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY: A CROSS SECTION

The Community Identified

Mexican-Americans: Geography & Numbers

Immigration 1900 --- Santa Fe 11 years before Plymouth rock

A Separate Culture

"peninsulares" born in Spain, elite

"criollos" born in Mexico of Spanish parents . . . "la gente bien, de razon, decente" "los que mandan"

"mestizo" mixed blood "la raza" "el blano o el moreno"

indians

"First Mexican-Americans are not as homogeneous a group as might be generally believed, and second, the raciial pressures exerted on this culture still exist to a greater degree today . . ." (p 5)

competition with other minorities in a predominantly white society---fair-skinned ones assimilated with the loss of ethnic identity.

difficulty of language.

Socioeconomic Characteristics

*** NEGATIVE !!! ***

Assimilation & the Melting Pot Myth

Assimilation? "Why has the Anglo not assimilated?" Dr. Jack Forbes (San Antonio, TX 1968) - Melting Pot = Anglo Culture

Mexican-Americans---> language, "la raza"---terminology, +Chicano+

Mexican-Americans Organize

LULAC 1928 League of United Latin American Citizens

CROM 1928 Confederation Regional Obrera Mexicana

CSO 1947 Community Service Organization

MAPA 1959 Mexican-American Political Association

PASSO 1963 Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organization

UMAS ---- United Mexican-American Students

MASO ---- Mexican-American Student Organization

NFW 1965 National Farm Workers

The Farm Workers' Movement

+la causa+ +la huelga+ (the strike)

"Chavez saw his most serious obstacle before him as the century-old effort of the Calkifornia farmers to depress wages and under cut resistence by pitting one group of poor people against another." (p 15)

A Movement Grows

NFWA 1962 National Farm Workers Association

newspaper +El Malcriado+ (the bad boy)

Unionization & the Media

"Much of this success can be attributed to Chavez's uncanny instinct for making the public aware of the deeper meaning of the movement." (p 18)

Feb '68 - 25 day Fast - TV exposure

Mar '66 - The +Pregrinacion+ (the pilgrimage) Delano to Sacramento

May '69 - March from Coachella, CA to international boarder @ Calexico

"Incidents that were reported in the media often demonstrated the strikers' instinct for the strategic

importance of controntation and the authorities' insensitivity to the power of the press. One such incident occured when Chavez attempted to accompany ten workers, whom he had persuaded to leave their jobs, back onto the company property to get their belongings. They were afraid to go alone but the company representatives refused to allow NFWA members to trespass. With Wayne Hartmire of the Migrant Ministry and Father Victor Salandini, a Catholic priest, Chavez decided to chance arrest by trespassing. All 13 men were quickly arrested for trespassing, but, for no apparent reason, the San Diego County sheriffs representatives decided to strip all of the men naked, except Father Salandini, and chain them together. This time the movement benefited from the overkill instinct of the authorities. When the episode was reported by the press, Chavez's legal guilt was obscured by the humiliating stripping of the men." (p 20)

The Local Press & the Movement

growers/citizens of Delano pissed off at +El Malcriado+ battle with Coachella Valley +Sun+

"But overall, the battle of the local media had little effect on the outcome of the strike and the movement. The issues were national in anture and the strikers, with uncanny accuracy, were able to take advantage of the press coverage they received. This fact was probalby the fore most reason that the unionization efforts succeeded----and it was to be a prelude to a much more active role by the growing Chicano movement in the mass media." (p 22)

The Brown Power Movement: A Matter of Pride

vague idea inspired by black power movement "It is the feeling that is created by being a Mexican in a sea of Anglos." (p 23) automatic membership, not ashamed of their Indian heritage and their brown skin. " It is also an expression of pent-up anger and frustrations toward a society that has rendered Mexican-Americans powerless to improve their standard of living---poor education, poor jobs, and the miser of life in the barrio." (p 23) admire aggressiveness and sophistication of the Black Power militants---but non-violent eg., Cesar Chavez & Reies Tijerina. "In essence, the Brown Power Movement was the first stage in the long fight for civil rights." (p 24) protests and walkouts in schools re: conditions of the schools in the +barrios+---> moved to College campuses, demands for Chicano studies . . . "publication of a quarterly review called +El Grito+ (the Cry) in an effort to communicate their ideas to other Chicanos as well as the establishment." (p 25)

"By 1970, the student unrest stirred by the Brown Power

Movement was approaching the critical point. And when school opened in East Los Angeles that year, a riot broke out in the community, which contains about 750,000 Mexican-Americans, after a march protesting the war in Indochina. Two men were killed, including Ruben Salazar, a columnist for the Los Angeles +Times+; to this day, Chicanos believe he was assassinated by police because of his sympathy for the movement. [see New York +Times+, September 17, 1970] A few days later, the National Mexican-American Anti-Defamation Committee in Washington, D.C., released the results of a survey that reported an increase in militancy and a "greater likelihood of violence" in nine cities with large Mexican-American populations. By January 1971, the tnesion in Los Angeles had once more reached a peak. More than 2,000 Chicanos, mostly students, massed in front of the city's police headquarters in a demonstration that erupted in a brick-and-bottle-throwing melee. The riot continued throught the main shopping area with rioters breaking store windows and looting. More than 30 persons were arrested during the skirmish. The point was made quite clearly that the Brwon Power Movement was indeed capable of violence and destruction, even though throughout the rest of the Southwest, young protestors managed to avoid violence." (p 26)

Brown Power, part 2

the Brown Berets (David Sanchez), Texas Brown Berets, Mexican-American Nationalist Organization (MANO)---> "Get guns whereever you can, preferable from addicts who steal them. Don't buy them, if you can help it, and don't carry them. Stay off dope. Don't use the telephone. Don't make public speeches. Get a job, if you can, and try to look harmless. This is how the Minutemen have survived. We will too." (p 26 - +Wall Street Journal+, November 6, 1970).

The Chicano Movement

Armando Rendon +Chicano Manifesto+:

"Out of a cultural milieu which desensitizes man and woman into profit-producing machines, devoid of humanity and soul.

"Out of a country which poses a military anwer to every foreign issue, and despite having been born in revolution against Old World oppression, seeks to deny the same right to nations who reject Brave New World oppression.

Out of gringo patterns of injustice and prejudice which have suppressed the best talents and mainds of our people and

accepted only those few willing to gringoize themselves to achieve a measure of fulfillment.

"Out of a system of government which is controlled by economic and social influence to reap its benefits at the expense of the poor and minority peoples.

"To put this in positive terms, the Chicano in essence desire three things: to fulfill our peoplehood, Chicano; to reclaim our land, Aztlan; to secure the future for ourselves and our countrymen." (p 26-27)

Reies Lopez Tijerina & the +Alianza Federal de Mercedes+, or +Alianza Federal de Pueblos Liberes+.

Rodolfo (Corky) Gonzales & the Crusade for Justice (1966)

+La Raza Unida+ Party

Corky Gonzales ideas of building a Mexican-American power structure based on nationalism:

". . . Let's take the common denominator, that . . . tool of nationalism, and utilize it to work against the system. Let's use it to work against the two parties that i say are like an animal with tow heads eating out of the same trough, that sits on the same boards of directors of the banks and corporations, that shares in the same industires that make dollars and profits off wars.

"We start it and call it an independent Chicano political organization. Wecan use it as . . . a forum to preach and teach. We can gain the same amount of radio and TV time as any phony candidate. We proved it in Colorado. I ran for mayor as a n independent, and I coampaigned two weeks. Two weeks, because we were busy directing a play and busy in civil rights actions. But we had the same amount of tiem on TV as anybody else, and on radio we were able to start to politicize people. We were able to start to tell about an idea." [p 29 - Corky Gonzales "Chicano Nationalism: The Key to Unity for La Raza," in +A Documentary History of the Mexican-American+, ed. by Wayne Moguin (NY: Praeger Publihsers, 1971), ppp. 379-80]

Jose Angel Gutierrez & +La Raza Unida+ Crystal City, TX

"So it is that the Mexican-American community today is couaght up in a struggle betwseen the youth, who are tired of waiting for change, and their elders, who have worked for and found a comfortable niche in the Anglo world and would rather not have anyone rocking their boat by focusing on old racial

problems. But the generation gap may be narrowing. The activitists today, particualrly in the media, are in many cases older and better educated than they were a few years ago. The call for racial pride has struck the hearts of many Mexican-Americans who have for a long time been proud of their cultural identity, but were afraid to show it. This in itself may eventually cause a new wave of older, more moderate Mexican-Americans to join a movement that has already had a surprising number of successes.

2.8.2 CHAP 2: MEXICAN-AMERICANS AND THE MEDIA

The First Mexican-American Press

"Traditionally, Mexican-Americans have had little regard for the Anglo press and vice versa. Wherever Mexican-Americans have clustered the media have done little to serve the Spanish-speaking populace, sometimes for valid reasons. Until recent times many Mexican-Americans have demonstrated little interest in participating in the Anglo social structure, and even if they have, they have been handicapped by the language barrier. AS a result, those who have been able to speak and read English (those of the upper socioeconomic strata) have been forced to enter into a social and business world that has exculuded their less fortunate compatriots, and the media have been content to let a sleeping Mexican lie. Even those who tried to reach the Mexican populace by publishing Spanish-language newspapers in the rugged pioneer days of the 1800s met with failure, in many cases because of an apathetic and illiterate audience." (35)

Irony- 1st press on the West Coast = Mexican-American --- Agustin Zamorano 1834

1851 +La Estrella+ Spanish page of the Los Angeles +Star+

---- Spanish page of the +Southern Californian+

---- +El Eco del Pacifico+ Spanish page of French weekly in San Francisco

---- +La Cronica+ Spanish paper (stopped pub 1856)

1855 +El Clamor Publico+ Spanish weekly, Francisco P. Ramirez

1900 +La Regeneracion+ Ricardo Flores Magon flees Mexico for San Antonio, TX (outspoken critic of Portfirio Diaz), to Saint Louis & Canada to Los Angeles to Leavenworth for sedition.

1926 +La Opinion+ of Los Angeles & +La Prensa+ in San Antonio (moderate)

Race and the Media

*** SEE INDEX CARD ***

Media Coverage of Mexican-Americans

El Paso Herald-Post/Times example: over 50% of the pop but not mentioned unless re crimes or accidents --- Sept 16, 1972 (Mexican Independence day) 100 protest, re Ricardo Sanchez:

"We want to show this newpaper and other newspapers that the mass media are very insensitive to the needs of the Chicano. We are treated as a minority. In actuality we are a majority of El Paso Country. We demand more equal coverage. We demand more Chicanos on newspaper staffs, exposes on education, social services and polititcal mafieas and the inclusion of regular guest column by Chicano columnists."

*** Salvador Valdez re: Chicano media problems (letter to the El Paso +Times+.):

"The local papers have only a few Spanish surnames to add color to their staff. But these reporters are like worms inside holes who cannot come out because their heads are cut off by their racist editors. Therefore, they move ineffectively underground. Our people in El Paso compose the biggest amount of subscribers to the local papers and still in the social pages we are hidden on the least important parts of the papers. Locally, when we make news is when we show our frustrations against the Anglo institutions which are not serving us adequately. The publicity always has the smell of racism, and very few articles are favorable to the Chicano. These feew good articles are overshadowed by big advertisements. Because we do not have the access that we should with the news media that we patronize, our peeople are always kept unaware and therefore are kept uninformed. When vital issues come up in which objectivity should be at its best we alswys find the paper against us." (p. 45)

ditto Arizona Daily Star & Tucson Daily Citizen. Survey by Minette "Toby" Burges, ed of Arizona Daily Wildcat: 65% Mexican-Americans considered ignored by papers, 68% (of the 65%) community not sufficiently coveed, 48% read both papers ---> like to see more coverage in Spanish, stories about Mexican-American community, re schools and housing, more Mexican-American reporters, listing of job opportunities . . .

35% separate Mexican-American paper, 20% expanded coverage in present papers.

Memo by Adolfo Quezada re: use of "Chicano" and "Mexican-American"

special columns: Chicago +Tribune+'s "Accion Rapida," Philadelphia +Daily News+'s "Entre Colo y Col," Boston +Herald Traveler+'s "Noticias"

Electronic Media Coverage

*** not pertainent to this paper.

Mass Media and the Problem of Stereotype

Sociologist, Gordon Allport defines:

"A Stereotype is an exaggerated belief associated with a category, and its function is to justify conduct in relation to that category." (p. 51) to rationalize their own weaknesses and failures.

Ozzie G. Simmons anglo stereotype of the Mexican-American: "he found that Anglo-Americans believe that the assimilation of Mexican-Americans is only a matter of time, contigent solely on the full incorporation of Anglo-American values and ways of life." (p. 52)

power of the media to change the images and stereotypes!

Who Killed Jose Jimenez?

Chicano activist, Armando Rendon +The Chicano Manifesto+:

" . . .the Anglo has had tremendous opportunity to exploit and perpetuate the caricature Chicano. With control over the media, the Anglo has been able to keep alive the flase front of the lazy Mexicano." (p. 54)

Chicano: the new nigger

Arid "bandido" commercial, Elgin "Zapata" commercial, AT&T's "Jose Jimenez" commercial, the "Frito Bandito" commercial

Formation of the National Mexican-American Anti-Defamation Committeee (NMAADC) Sept 1968 goals:

1) urge Mexican-American not to buy those products which show their minority in a "demeaning and degrading" manner in the mass media.

2) begin an intensive program of monitoring the mass media for those degrading characterizations and to make the monitoring results know to Mexican-Americans in orderr to show the extent of discrimination when suggesting buyer boycotts.

3) continue to write letters to industry and gov't urging that the focus of mass media be changed so that use of the demeaning stereotypes will be discontinued.

4) develop a "talent" or "skills" bank-pool of Mexican-Americans with particualr talents who will be available for employment by the media.

Ray Martell, Mexican-American actor:

"It's astounding that in the history of movies and tv that there has yet to be a Latin acotr who has a leading role in a cowboy series, when the very idea of cowboys originated with the Spaniards and Mexicans." (p. 57)

San Antonio group: Involvement of Mexican-Americans in Gainful Endeavor (IMAGE) vs. Bill Dana's "Jose Jimenez" (his own group, Latin-Americans in United Direction-LAUD). April 4, 1970 "Jose Jimenez" is dead.

Stanford: Council to Advance and Restore the Image of the Spanish-Speaking and Mexican-Americans (CARISSMA) w/ IMAGE.

June 1971: +Justicia+

2.8.3 CHAP 3: THE CHICANO MEDIA MOVEMENT

The Death of a Bridge Gapper

The death of Ruben Salazar, the "Benito Juarez of journalism", 42, to the distinguished members of the Communications Taskforce of NUC:

"We come to you as the voice of reason and we ask you---almost beg you---to help us inform this nation about the tragic plight of eight million invisible Chicanos whose lives often parallel those of black people. There is much bitterness in our Mexican-American communities, gentlemen, and an ever increasing bitterness against school systems . . . . and against local and federal governemtns that apparently respond only to violence. Consequently, there are some Chicanos who have finally concluded that we must ahve a Watts-type riot to

capture your attention, to force the establishment to pay heed.

"We hope this won't happen. We hope that reason will finally prevail, that you leaders of the national media will help us push the kinds of governmental reforms and changes in public attitudes that will help better the lot of the much ignored Chicano. In all candor, gentlemen, I can't say I am entirely hopeful.. it may be too late to forestall the violence of long festering frustration, but I think that it is worth trying." (p. 89-90)

William J. Drummond, black reporter for the +Times+, w/ Salazar:

"Ruben Salazar, as a Mexican, had paid many of the same dues that I, a black man, had paid. We were both close enough to our people to feel affronted by the day-to-day indignities that they suffer, but we were trained to swallow emotion, because they would trim that from your stories. You had to be low-key and facutal. Ultimately, nowhere were you secure. The Chicanos . . . distrusted you because you were part of the Establishmen, because you weren't angry enough. And at the same time you felt that those you worked for sometimes thought you were an informant frist and a reproter second . . . . He was a man in the middle . . . . I knew as he did what it menat to ask myself, "Am I part of those on top looking down, or a part of those on the bottom looking up?" and not know the answer." (p.91)

2.9 LIBMAN, "Cheech's '55 Chevy Convertible Is On the Block in East LA"

Libman, Gary. "Cheech's '55 Chevy Convertible Is On the Block In East LA." +Los Angeles Times+, March 2, 1987, part V, p. 1.

2.10 MARZOLF, +Kerner Plus 10+

Marzolf, Marion and Melba Tolliver. +Kerner Plus 10: Minorities and the Media, A Conference Report.+ (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, 1977)

2.10.1 quotes and comments

Black AP reporter, Austin Scot resignation letter to Wes Gallagher:

"I marvel every day that there seem to be more black sheriffs, more black businessmen, more black eductors and policemen, more black judges, and state legislators, and computer programmers, and salesmen, and heavy equipment

operators. But in a nation of 22 million black people, only a couple dozen of us have the potential to make it in the Associated Press. It's funny how talent is distributed. We can sing and dance and hold conventions, but none of us can write." (p. 3)

Robert C. Maynard:

"As a young minority journalist you start out with a regard for your culture and your community and you bring that along to your work. The problem is that many white editors say: 'O.K., you start over here with that view of yourself; I start out with a view of you that's very different. If you wnat to work here, you've got to cross that bridge and come over entirely to this view.'

"The minority says, 'Let's meet in the middle, because that way I can tell you some negative things I notice about your community as well.' And that's when communication breaks down totally, in many instances," Maynard said. "There's no way to arrange a place to meet that is reasonably honorable and honest for both the reporter and the editor, where they can actually discuss their differences and find out what it is they agree about." (p. 4).

2.11 MIRANDE, +The Chicano Experience+

Mirande, Alfredo. +The Chicano Experience: An Alternative Perspective.+ (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1985).

2.11.1 quotes and comments

"Guy Endore, one of the chief protagonists for the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee, maintains that the crime wave was the result of a directive from Hearst himself to all hearst editor. According to Endore the teletype message from Hearst read:

"' . . . Chief suggest L.A. editors make survey of crime reports---all types--with particular emphasis on munbers of police bookings of Mexican and Negro citizens---and or aliens. Chief suggests L.A. editors transmit findings to all other Hearst editors.'

"Even though there was no actual evidence of a crime wave among Chicano youth, the press was able to fabricate one by running sensationalized sotries and getting 'stooges,' prominent personalities anxious for publicity, to make statements about Mexican crime.

Page 15"'. . . even if there is no Mexican crime, there's nothing to stop you from printing what these prominent citizens are saying about Mexican crime, even if it is to the effect that it is nothing to be worried about. All this is printed under some sort of scare headline calculated to give the hurried reader the impression that Mexican crime is a real problem.'" (p. 79)

2.12 RODRIGUEZ, +Hunger of Memory+

Rodriguez, Richard. +Hunger of Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez.+ (New York: Bantam Books, 1982).

2.12.1 comments

*** unusual story---quoting from the jacket liner:

"Here is the poignant journey of a 'minority student' who pays the cost of his social assimilation and academic success with a painful alienation---from his past, his parents, his culture---and so describes the high price of 'making it' in middle-class America."

2.13 RODRIGUEZ, "Success in U.S., Stranger in Land of His Roots"

Rodriguez, Richard. "Success in U.S. Stranger in Land of His Roots." +U.S. News & World Report+, August 19, 1985, p. 41.

2.13.1 comments

*** more of the same (excerpt from above book).

2.14 RUIZ, +A Soul in Exile+

Ruiz, David Villar. +A Soul in Exile: A Chicano Lost in Occupied Land.+ (Los Angeles: Vantage Press, 1981).

2.14.1 comments

*** bookends with Richard Rodriguez. A Chicano heading in the other direction--from the turbulent Vietnam years to a search for ethnic identity---a diary of +la marcha de la Reconquista+.

The fear and helplessness, the brutality and raw-racism of the police, the bitter sense of betrayal from a man that had risked his life for his country in a Southeast Asia and now was paid back with second class citizenship.

2.15 SCHILLER, +Objectivity And The News+

Schiller, Dan. +Objectivity And the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism+. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981).

2.15.1 quotes and comments

*** "THE INVISIBLE FRAME

"There are no inherent limits to the reporatbility of events. If an occurrence is newsworthy, it will be made public . . . . No aristocracy with fromal title to coverage or fixed right of access should or does govern the practice of news reporting, although powerful private interests or designing politicians may, on occasion, manage to defraud the public by means of a cover-up. News may come from anywhere. Such, as least, is the belief.

"The reality is different. News exemplifies values, and journalists work within increasingly well-researched, routine constraints. If a "news net" is indeed thrown virtually round the world, it is woven in such a way as to harvest only some speices of fish. Writing news is telling stories: repetitive, even stylized narratives, bearing the stanp of a dominant social purpose.

"An invisible frame brackets news reports as a particualr kind of public knowledge and a key category in popular epistemology. News reports repeatedly claim that, ideally at least, they recount events without the intrusion of value judgements or symbols. News is a map, a veridical representation, a report on reality, and hence not really a story at all, but merely the facts---this is the claim. But news---akin to any literary or cultural form---must rely upon conventions. Formally created and substantially embodied conventions alone can be used to contrive the illusion of objectivity. How else could we recognize news as a form of knowledge?" (pp. 1-2)

2.16 US, +Report of the National Advisory Commision On Civil Disorders+

United States. +Report of the National Advisory Commision On Civil Disorders+. (New York: The New York Times Company, 1968).

*** The Kerner Commission

2.16.1 quotes and comments

"COVERAGE OF THE 1967 DISTURBANCES

"We have found a significant imbalance between what acutally happened in our cities and what the newspaper, radio, and television coverage of the riots told us happened. . . . We found that the disorders, as serious as they were, were less destructive, less widespread, andless a black-white confrontation than most people believed." (p. 363)

"THE MEDIA AND RACE RELATIONS

"Our second and fundamental criticism is that the news media have failed to analyze and report adequately on racial problems in the United States and, as a related matter, to meet the negro's legitimate expectations in journalism. . . . The media report and write from the standpoint of a white man's world. The ills of the ghetto, the difficulties of life there the Negro's burning sense of grievance, are seldom conveyed. Slights and indignities are part of the Negro's daily life, and many of them come from what he now calls "the white man's press"---a press that repeatedly, if unconsciously, refects the biases, the paternalism, the indifference of white America. this may be understandable, but it is not excusable in an institution that has the mission to inform and educate the whone of our society." (p. 366)

"FAILURE TO COMMUNICATE

". . . Most newspaper articles and most television programming ignore the fact that an appreciabvle part of their audience is black. The world that television and newspapers offer to their black audience is almost totally white, in both appearance and attitude." (p. 383)

PAPER TEXT: "The Chicano and the News Media: Reality Through The Eyes of Two Cultures

1 Topic Sentence

The 1967 Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders leveled an accusing finger at the News Media for its role in alternately ignoring and abusing the minority situation in the U.S. and for contributing to the atmosphere of racial tension without actually addressing the grievances of the minority community.@ The purpose of this paper is to look at the treatment that the Chicano community has received from the Anglo Press and to work towards a Chicano response, keeping in mind two fundamental beliefs of the Anglo Press.

@United States. +Report of the National Advisory Commision On Civil Disorders+. (New York: The New York Times Company, 1968). pp. 382ff.

2 BODY

A short history of the media coverage afforded the Chicano community is quite possible because, with the exception of periodic "Race Riots" and other disturbances, the Chicano community did not exist in Anglo News Media before the 1960's. Felix Gutierrez writes:

~age 2/A survey of magazine citations in the +Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature+ from 1890 to 1970 reveals very few article about Latinos in the United States. Articles that were listed often had a crisis or negative overtone. That is, they were written during periods when Mexican labor or immigration impacted national policy or when Latinos were involved in civil strife.@

@Felix Gutierrez. "Latinos and the Media" in +Readings in Mass Communications: Concepts & Issues in the Mass Media.+ 5th edition. eds., Micheal Emery and Ted Curtis. (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Publishers, 1983). p. 165.

Thus, for the Anglo press, media coverage of the Chicano community began in 1848 as a brief footnote regarding some desert territory won in a military skirmish. The media coverage then fell silent, with the exception of periodic memos regarding a few troublemakers, until the said troublemakers became unavoidably audible during the 1960's.

What was the Anglo News Media's reaction to the now vocal Chicano community? One time +Los Angeles Times+ writer, Ruben Salazar once noted:

~ The media, having ignored the Mexican-Americans for so long, but now willing to report them, seem impatient about the

complexities of the story. It's as if the media, having finally discovered the Mexican-American is not amused that under the serape and sombrero is a complex Chicano instead of a potential Gringo.

@Gutierrez. p. 166.

2.1 part 2

In a nutshell, the Chicano complaint is that the Anglo Press not only ignores the issues that are important to the Chicano community but habitually portrays the Chicano community in a poor light. Felix Gutierrez writes:

~ "Coverage of Latinos in Anglo media has increased with the population growth [of Latinos]. But news reporters still tend to place too much emphasis on stories featuring "problem people"---Latinos either causing or beset by problems, such as undocumented residents, youth gangs, or recent arrivals. Other stories often have a "zoo appeal" by featuring Latinos on national holidays, celebrating cultural fiestas, or in their native costumes. While more examples of accurate news reporting can be found now than in earlier periods, the media's

preoccupation with "problem people" and "zoo stories" ignores many of the important daily happenings in the Latino community."@

@Gutierrez, p. 166.

The complaint is this: though the Chicano community has been a part of this country's heritage for a long time (predating Jamestown) and though Chicanos have given their lives in this country's wars, something as simple as acknowledging their egalitarian existence seems forever beyond their reach.@ And in their day to day existence they are reminded of this fact by the continued absence of their presence, as anything other than troublemakers, in the Anglo press. Very much parallel to the treatment of the Black community by the Anglo press, statements made in the 1967 Kerner Commission Report could be applied to the Chicano community:

2.2 part 2.1

@David Villar Ruiz. +A Soul in Exile: A Chicano Lost in Occupied Land+. (Los Angeles: Vantage Press, 1981). Bookends with Richard Rodriguez's +Hunger of Memory+. A

Chicano heading in the other direction--from the turbulent Vietnam years to a search for ethnic identity---a diary of +la marcha de la Reconquista+.

The fear and helplessness, the brutality and raw-racism of the police, the bitter sense of betrayal from a man that had risked his life for his country in a Southeast Asia and now was paid back with second class citizenship. It approaches the early Chicano movement on a personal level which dovetails nicely with Lewels' academic +The Uses of the Media by the Chicano Movement+.

~ The media report and write from the standpoint of a white man's world. The ills of the ghetto, the difficulties of life there, the Negro's burning sense of grievance, are seldom conveyed. Slights and indignities are part of the Negro's daily life, and many of them come from what he now calls "the white man's press"---a press that repeatedly, if unconsciously, refects the biases, the paternalism, the indifference of white America. this may be understandable, but it is not excusable in an institution that has the mission to inform and educate the whole of our society.

. . . Most newspaper articles and most television programming ignore the fact that an appreciable part of their

audience is black. The world that television and newspapers offer to their black audience is almost totally white, in both appearance and attitude.@

2.3 part 3

@United States. +Report of the National Advisory Commision On Civil Disorders+. (New York: The New York Times Company, 1968). pp. 366, 383.

For the Anglo, however, the problem isn't so much equal time in the Press but that the Chicano community seems adamant about not assimilating. Francisco Lewels writes:

~ When Dr. Jack Forbes, sociologist, testified at the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights hearing in San Antonio, Texas in 1968, he was asked by the General Counsel, "Why hasn't the Mexican-American assimilated in the Southwest?" he answered, "Excuse me, sir, but that is the wrong question. Why hasn't the Anglo assimilated?" Perhaps the point Forbes was trying to make was that not only are Mexican-Americans equal in numbers in some places in the Southwest to the Anglos, but they were there first and, whereas most can speak some English, relatively few Anglos can speak Spanish.@

Page 7/@Francisco J. Lewels, Jr. +The Uses of the Media by the Chicano Movement: A Study in Minority Access+. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974). p. 10.

For the Anglo and the Anglo Press, their culture is the American culture. And not only is their culture the American culture, but being the American culture it is the superior culture.

~ [Our society] equates Anglo-American origin and Anglo-Amercian ways with virtue, with goodness, even with political purity. Other cultures are not merely different; they are inferior. They must be wiped out, not only for the good of the country, but for the good of the child. Not only must he learn to speak English; he must stop speaking anything else.@

@+ibid+.

Those are not the words of some neo-Nazi but of the former U.S. Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe II. The Anglo culture suffers from an unfortunate strain of color blindness that associates only white with right. And as long as it is under the influence of this myopia they simply cannot see the difference between their Anglo culture and the mythical

American "melting pot."

2.4 part 3.1

There are two factors that I see standing in the way of the Chicano community getting fair treatment in the Anglo News Media. The first is this confused identification of the "American Way" with the Anglo Culture. The second is with regards to the Myth of objectivity that the Modern News Media foists upon the reading public.

~ The press . . . . must print the truth fully and fearlessly. It must not print biased propaganda as news. It must give the public accurate information. It must open columns to free and illuminating discussion. It must do its full and impartial duty in enabling the citizenry to conduct their democratic govenment wisely and successfully.@

Edmond D. Coblentz, ed. +Newsmen Speak+. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954). p. 41.

The First Commandment of the Fourth Estate, in the words of William Randolf Hearst, is objectivity. Objectivity is the cornerstone of the Modern News Media. If anyone should know about the Modern News Media it would have been William

Randolf Hearst. He certainly owned enough newspapers to put his principles into practice. Observe, for example, how he handled the Los Angeles Race Riots in the 1940's:

~ Guy Endore, one of the chief protagonists for the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee, maintains that the crime wave was the result of a directive from Hearst himself to all hearst editors. According to Endore the teletype message from Hearst read:

" . . . Chief suggest L.A. editors make survey of crime reports---all types--with particular emphasis on numbers of police bookings of Mexican and Negro citizens---and or aliens. Chief suggests L.A. editors transmit findings to all other Hearst editors."

2.5 part 3.2

Even though there was no actual evidence of a crime wave among Chicano youth, the press was able to fabricate one by running sensationalized stories and getting 'stooges,' prominent personalities anxious for publicity, to make statements about Mexican crime.

". . . even if there is no Mexican crime, there's nothing to stop you from printing what these prominent citizens are saying about Mexican crime, even if it is to the effect that it is nothing to be worried about. All this is printed under some sort of scare headline calculated to give the hurried reader the impression that Mexican crime is a real problem."@

Alfredo Mirande. +The Chicano Experience: An Alternative Perspective+. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1985). p. 79.

Well, obviously, Objectivity is in the eye of the beholder.

Dan Schiller writes in a book titled, +Objectivity And the News+:

2.6 part 3.3

~ An invisible frame brackets news reports as a particular kind of public knowledge and a key category in popular epistemology. News reports repeatedly claim that, ideally at least, they recount events without the intrusion of value judgements or symbols. News is a map, a veridical

representation, a report on reality, and hence not really a story at all, but merely the facts---this is the claim. But news---akin to any literary or cultural form---must rely upon conventions. Formally created and substantially embodied conventions alone can be used to contrive the illusion of objectivity. How else could we recognize news as a form of knowledge?@

@Dan Schiller. +Objectivity And the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism+. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981). pp. 1-2.

Reality is a multi-directional multi-sensual phenomenon. News writing is a linear abstraction of this multi-directional multi-sensual phenomenon. Something of the Reality is stripped away and something of the writer is added in its conversion to becoming a "news story." More specifically, our cognition and therefore our recording of the Reality is at best an approximation of the Reality. There are more accurate and less accurate approximations, but in all cases, something is stripped away and something is added.@ Is it surprising than that the Anglo News Media reflects the prejudices, interests or ideas of the Anglo culture (although it may be more accurate to identify these prejudices, interests or ideas with its buying public)? Would anyone be surprised

that if the shoe were on the other foot and the Chicano Media were in a position of dominence that it would reflect the prejudices, interests or ideas of the associated Chicano culture? Therefore, the Chicano's cry of unfair to the Anglo News Media is true only in terms of the Anglo News Media's claim to complete objectivity.

@I operate as a writer under the philosophy of Fairness. That is, because true objectivity is an impossibility, than in an atmosphere of controversy or non-resolution, major points of view should be aired with special attention toward their Emic values. I have adapted this view from that of Joseph Farrar, Executive News Editor of the +Los Angeles Herald Examiner+.

2.7 part 4

So the Anglo News Media stands behind its ill-conceived belief in the "American Way" and the "Myth of Objectivity," all the while telling the Chicano community that denial of the Chicano community's heritage is required before it can become anything more, for example, than a crime story for the Metro section of the +Los Angeles Times+.

3 CONCLUSIONS

With such an ultimatum is it any wonder that the Chicano community rioted in the late 60's? Such is the dilemma for those of us that would live a bi-cultural life in a uni-cultural society. Assimilate or segragate. But as the Kerner Commission found in the late 60's,@ neither course will create the kind of response that would satisfy the Chicano community. Both responses render the Chicano culture as being something inferior to the dominant Anglo culture, the first by robbing the Chicano of his ethnic heritage and the second by denying the Chicano access to the cultural mainstream.

@Tom Wicker writes in the Introduction to the +Report of the National Advisory Commision On Civil Disorders+ (p. vii):

~ Conceivably the nation could continue its present failing efforts toward an integrated society, including the present proportion of its resources devoted to social and economic programs; or it could abandon integration as a goal and commit increased resources to "enrichment" of life in the ghetto---thus presumably making it bearable without producing violence against white society.

The first of these is hopeless; not only will it tend

to produce more and more ghetto violence but it is an obvious fraud, in terms of its ability to produce anything like integration . . . .

The second course is rejected here with equal frankness, as simply another method of producing a permanently divided society.

3.1 part 2

With regards to the Chicano community and the Anglo News Media, I have to reject any view that would call for the assimilation of the Chicano into the Anglo Press or the other view that would be satisfied with an alternative Press. For the same reasons listed above in terms of ones ethnic identity, such an either/or approach perpetuates the "Chicano/inferiority" myth.

As such I believe that the course of action to take is integration without assimilation. Integration without assimilation is socially revisionistic. Beginning from a position of personally appreciating our personal ethnic heritage (which we alone bear the responsibility of educating ourselves in) and recognizing the foreign nature of the dominant culture and the paradigms that its News Media operates

under, integration without assimilation adds one more facet to the hetereogenious nature of the dominant culture. +Los Angeles Times+ editorial writer, Frank del Olmo urges Chicano activists:

~ Try to understand the inner workings of the media, and to cooperate with reporters and editors rather than criticizing them. I also advise against confrontational-style tactics, such as boycotts, which can be counterproductive.

If the news media are going to change, the most effective pressure for change will come from inside the profession, among journalists themselves, rather than from outside pressure groups. And the best way to make the news media more sensitive to minority groups is to have more Latinos and other minority people in the newsroom.@

@Frank del Olmo. "Changing World: Latinos and the Media." +Los Angeles Times+. April 24, 1987. part II, p. 13.

This tactic is often criticized for being ineffective. Salvador Valdez wrote a letter to the +El Paso Times+ after a Mexican Independence Day demonstration in 1972:

~

3.2 part 3

~ The local papers have only a few Spanish surnames to add color to their staff. But these reporters are like worms inside holes who cannot come out because their heads are cut off by their racist editors. Therefore, they move ineffectively underground.@

@Lewels. p. 45.

But the fact of the matter is, with only 8% of those working within the ranks of profession journalism coming from minority communities (not mentioning how small the Chicano representation is) from a national population of 18%,@ the infiltration or integration without assimilation tactic has not been fully implimented. Granted, it is a very slow method with all of the limitations of working within a foreign framework. But this method is more realistic, having better long range benefits, in view of the fact that it reflects the kind of dialogue that must take place on a social/cultural level between the Anglo culture and the other ethnic cultures. In a society that calls itself Democratic, the rights must be balanced with the responsibilities between and within groups, or else we will always have the kind of divided society that sparked the Anger of 1967 riots.

Page 17@del Olmo. part II, p. 13.

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Success in U.S., Stranger in Land Of His Roots

From Richard Rodriguez, author of *Hunger of Memory*, comes a bittersweet look at the land of his ancestors.

What I knew that day in Mexico is that I am not a Mexican. What I learned is that I must match Mexico's seriousness.

A few weeks ago, I was in San Diego on business. I found myself on a Sunday with nothing to do. I thought of looking around the Salk Institute in La Jolla, that splendid hive facing the sea.

But then I thought of Mexico.

I have published essays that were interested in Mexico. But in truth I am haunted by Mexico. A Mexican American, more gringo than Mexican, I had measured my life against a country that both of my parents fled. As much as you could be, I am afraid of Mexico; it is a mystery, a profanity.

The signs on Interstate 5 turn cautionary, announcing the international border. A sloped roof is painted with an advertisement for Mexico insurance, while ahead Mexico looms, a bank of gray houses on brown hills.

Tijuana faces north, toward America. San Diego stares resolutely out to sea. San Diego is busy, clean. Tijuana is fabled, more or less—one of the world's great cities of desire. It was created by the Mexican's desire for America. It is the gangplank for illegal immigrants. For the American Navy, "TJ" is the sailor's rest, a gambling town, whore town. For the gringos, it is perhaps the ideal tourist town. A quick shot. A measured thrill of the foreign, Disney Calcutta. Bullfights. Foreign tongue. Unmetered taxis. Vague danger.

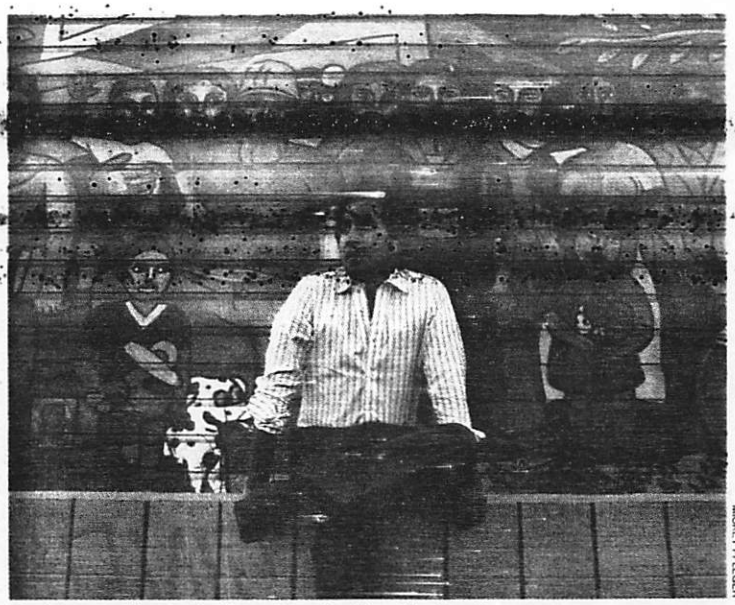
I stand for a while on the American side. My eye follows a Border Patrol jeep down a mountain road. In front of me, blond teenagers are returning from Mexico, as though from some state fair, lugging baskets of clay pots and *piñatas* and dolls.

Oh, I have traveled in Mexico. As a boy, I went with my parents to visit our relatives. My father kept a sheaf of papers always on his person. These were his children's birth certificates—to get us back into America.

I approach a Border Guard with my driver's license extended. Will I have any trouble getting back—I don't have my passport? The guard seems surprised by my question. "Are you an American citizen? Then you won't need a thing."

There is a turnstile. There is a concrete bridge "between good neighbors," needing paint. Immediately, there is something to buy. Stalls, rows of identical merchandise, none surpassing. Rugs, plaster naked ladies, Madonnas, gnomes.

To get into town, you need a cab. The cabbie knows in an instant that my Spanish is fake. His reply is in English: "Five dollars downtown." When we get downtown, he indicates with a circular gesture of the hand "*El* Main Street."



MICKEY PFLEGER

Rodriguez: "In truth, I am haunted by Mexico."

On Tijuana's main drag, it is easy to spot Mexican American families in the crowd. Like me, the Mexican Americans carry an American slouch. Bermuda shorts. They dress differently from Mexico. They are taller, less heavy. They speak English to each other, and to Mexicans they speak Spanish, but they have lost the confidence of it.

My mother has always said that Tijuana is not to be trusted. Tijuana is not Mexico. And it is true, in a way. Tijuana is not the Mexico of skyscraper cities or noble ruins or colonial villages. But Tijuana is truly a Third World capital, deepest Mexico.

I cut away from the main street and head for the towers of a Catholic church. The government's party, the perennial PRI, is handing out promises at a rally up the corner. Peasant faces listen impassively with no hint of derision, no hint of belief.

The church is wide open, crowded at midafternoon, though it isn't mass time. One is quite free in a Mexican church to do as one likes. I sit for a while and watch a young man with a straw hat in his hand gazing up at a picture of Mary. Old women sit in silence. Children stare at the ceiling. Young men stand near the door. I look at my watch. These are people at ease with eternity. But I am an American. I get up and leave.

I wander around for a while. I am very thirsty. Everywhere I see fruit juices, the colors of calcified paints, brilliant syrups, translucent candies, wedges of pineapple, slices of melon. All are tempting, all are inedible. But Mexicans bite and lick and chew and swallow.

Tijuana becomes a dream-walk city, a city of staring eyes. What do they make of my cautious way? What do they know of me? That I am a border crosser?

I have choices. Whenever I pause over merchandise, I am asked if I want to buy. I have money to spend; I am not Mexico.

An old lady sits under a tree of paper flowers, each branch a stick with one bloom, each bloom for sale. An Indian woman sits on the sidewalk with her hand extended over her head, the palm open. She is begging. She is disinterested, perhaps because starvation is eloquent. I watch the hand for a moment. It is undulating slightly, like a cobra. If I put pressure on that palm, I will wake up the eyes. I dare not look into her eyes. I turn away.

I don't wait to barter my way onto a cab. I just get in and sit close to the open window, feeling the wind as the car rushes back toward America. But already I know that the old tourist trick of turning one's back on Mexico is not going to work.

Back at the border, the tourists are tired. They will not look at the stalls. They will not consider the snow cones, the green, the blood-red. At the exit for Mexico, a tiny boy sings a full-throated, raw lament—like a memorized prayer, a sentimental love song. Both hands are extended, palms open. And the tourists pay *him*. They put coins in his hands, even his pockets. But the boy does not stop singing. He does not let them look into his eyes. They cannot make him smile. □

READINGS

[Essay]

MEXICO'S AMERICAN CHILDREN

From "Mexico's Children," by Richard Rodriguez, in the Spring 1986 issue of the American Scholar. *Rodriguez is the author of* Hunger of Memory, *an autobiography, and the forthcoming* Mexican American.

It is 1986 and the border does not hold. Entire families are coming, grandmothers, uncles, cousins. America is no longer the male's solitary journey, as it was in the 1940s, the 1950s, the 1960s. More of the family is now here than there. But the decision to leave for the American city was not virtuous; it was governed by pragmatism. In their warm American kitchen, Mexicans talk among beer bottles of an eventual return to the empyrean.

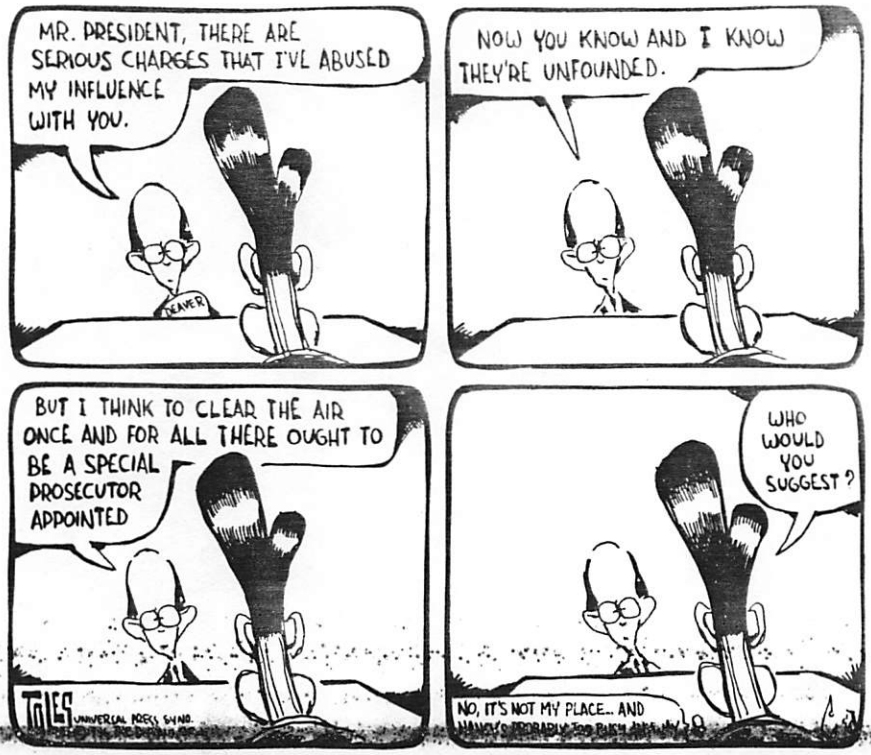
America wants to tell the new immigrants that she is sorry—and she is sorry—but there is not enough space, air, welfare—not enough America for all who would come. But then Americans take the Mexicans up on their offer of cheap labor. Mexicans are all around the neighborhood on Saturdays, making those pleasant faraway sounds, buzzing, chopping, mowing. They have become the new Americans, busy at a time when we grow more leisured, more Latin.

For the time being, Mexicans continue to arrive with punctual innocence. No intention to be disrespectful of American laws, *señor*, but necessity is necessity. The past meets the future in an opposing glance. The American wonders about the future; the Mexican immigrant broods over the past. . . .

Most articles on Mexico end up in a jumble of numbers, unreadable, usually accompanied by photographs that will casually break your heart. In one such photograph, I see the teen-age father walking down the street with three children, and only here can I read the writing on the wall. The Shavian life force belongs to them. I am unmarried, barren, witty. My day is spent with you; we are neighbors. As much as you could be, I am awed by the generosity of the Mexican immigrant's embrace of his child. I have heard these new immigrants sing hymns on Sundays, heard hymns in Catholic churches sung with stunning faith. The future is theirs. Their ascendancy has nothing to do with borders. It is simply a matter of time. I, meanwhile, have cast my lot with you in the America of *Time* magazine, the *Time* that had a cover story on Mexico titled "The Population Curse"—as though life, and not illness and poverty and death, were the true enemy.

America's bishops have made headlines with their opinions about the MX missile and the morality of capitalism. Less publicized has been their "Pastoral Letter on Hispanic Ministry," issued in 1983, wherein the bishops announced themselves to be against assimilation as a social goal for Hispanics. They wrote: "The Church shows its esteem for the dignity of Hispanic culture by working to ensure pluralism, not assimilation and uniformity." But while the bishops piously fret themselves with the thought that Hispanics may be changed too much by America, Hispanics are destined to change America, change the very tenor of institutions like the Roman Catholic Church. By the end of the century, half of the world's Catholics will be Spanish-speaking. Already in the United States, one Catholic in four is Hispanic. Numbers make it inevitable that Hispanics will reshape the character of an American church that has been, for over a century, largely Irish in cast.

I am speaking of assimilation. I am not speaking of tacos or bilingual voting ballots. I am speaking of the soul, the real soul, which passes matter and surpasses matter. The residue of the


MR. PRESIDENT, THERE ARE SERIOUS CHARGES THAT I'VE ABUSED MY INFLUENCE WITH YOU.
NOW YOU KNOW AND I KNOW THEY'RE UNFOUNDED.
BUT I THINK TO CLEAR THE AIR ONCE AND FOR ALL THERE OUGHT TO BE A SPECIAL PROSECUTOR APPOINTED
WHO WOULD YOU SUGGEST?
NO, IT'S NOT MY PLACE... AND

From the Buffalo News.

past is told in a mood, a gesture of hands, a tone of voice. A man who knows my family well tells me that when I write in English he can recognize the sound of my father speaking in Spanish. This is the way Mexico will influence America in the future: American English will be changed by the Mexican immigrant children who put it in their mouths. Optimism will be weighted, in time, by some thicker mood.

Meanwhile, I am about as much of Mexico as you are going to get on paper. Diluted: a second-generation American, a middle-class man, a man born to the city, someone who is interested in Mexico. The obvious truth about assimilation is that it is never even. The advantage goes to the more numerous, the longer settled, the wealthy. The child of immigrant parents goes off to school and comes home knowing more about British kings than about his grandfather's travail. (So it was that America happened to me. I turned into you.) But if assimilation is never equal, assimilation is always reciprocal.

Mexican-Americans are destined to become your neighbors, your boyfriends, your wives, your uncles. We will change you. Mexico will change you. But Mexico's greatest influence will be carried by an Americanized middle class and not by the less assimilated working class. The paradox of assimilation is that ethnic influence occurs not when people live apart, in distinct and separate neighborhoods, but where it seems least likely to happen—in the arena of the middle class, the great American mall.

My nephews and nieces today. They will grow up and we will call them Hispanic. *Hispanic* is the word for their future. Already "Mexican-American" as a political category, an idea, is being transposed to "Hispanic." The same has happened to other immigrant groups in this country. Think of the Jewish immigrants, or the Italians. Many came, carefully observing Old World distinctions and rivalries. German Jews distinguished themselves from Russian Jews. The Venetian was adamant about not being taken for a Neapolitan. But to America, what did such claims matter? All Italians looked and sounded the same. A Jew was a Jew. And now America shrugs again. Palm trees or cactus, it's all the same; Hispanics are all the same.

Puerto Ricans, Central Americans, Cuban-Americans—all are becoming Hispanic. A new group consciousness is being forged on this side of the border. A new accent is being heard, a uniform American Spanish. Politicians already have gotten the point. There is strength in Hispanic numbers and there is bound to be influence. The Mexican-American activist (né the Chicano) is now a Hispanic politician.

A century ago, *Spanish* was the acceptable term. To those Mexican-Americans who claimed to be Spanish came admission to circles of civility. Spanish meant light skin, of course,

though it was not always an exact racial designation. To be Spanish meant that one had money or the memory of money or pretense to money. Spanish meant land. Today's term is *Hispanic*. It signals a movement out of the barrio, the wider view taken. The smart coinage. The adjective that fits an emerging middle class of business executives and lawyers and and writers like me.

But you have to wonder how far the term will take us. For the middle-class Mexican-American, intermarriage outside the group has long been possible; it is common today. At the very moment of our numerical celebrity, we may be about to disappear into the melting pot. *Hispanic*, as our middle-class label, may turn out to be an ironic badge of influence that signals, in but another generation, our political decline.

My youngest nephew stares at me with dark eyes. He has blond hair. I think it is Mexico I see in his eyes, the unfathomable regard of the past, while ahead of him stretches Sesame Street. What will he think of his past, except to know that he has several? What will he know of Mexico, except to know that his ancestors lived on land he will never inherit? What Mexico bequeaths to him passes silently through his heart, something to take with him as he disappears into America.

THE PORN WARS

The Federal Campaign

This year, twenty-two companies, including CBS, RCA, Time Inc., and the Southland Corporation, received the following letter from the executive director of the Justice Department's commission on pornography. In April, the Southland Corporation announced that all of its 7-Eleven stores would discontinue sales of Penthouse, Playboy, *and* Forum *magazines. The testimony referred to in the letter was given by the Reverend Donald Wildmon, executive director of the National Federation for Decency, in Tupelo, Mississippi.*

Authorized Representative:

The Attorney General's Commission on Pornography has held six hearings across the United States during the past seven months on issues related to pornography. During the hearing in Los Angeles, in October 1985, the commission received testimony alleging that your company is involved in the sale or distribution of pornography. The commission has determined that it would be appropriate to allow your company an opportunity to respond to the allegations prior to drafting its final report section on identified distributors.

You will find a copy of the relevant testimony enclosed herewith. Please review the allegations and advise the commission on or before March 3, 1986, if you disagree with the statements enclosed. Failure to respond will necessarily be accepted as an indication of no objection.

Please call Ms. Genny McSweeney, Attorney, at (202) 724-7837 if you have any questions.

Thank you for your assistance.

Truly yours,

Alan E. Sears
Executive Director

The Grass-Roots Campaign

From "Pornography Causes Murder," by Billy Burden, in the February issue of the Liberty Report, *a publication of the Liberty Federation (formerly the Moral Majority). According to an editor's note, this is a "dramatization" based on information in a recent* FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin.

One night on his way home from work, Eddy stopped by a convenience store to buy some lunch meat and a loaf of bread. Patty Sue was out of town with her parents. Eddy decided to buy one of those "girly" magazines.

Eddy says that he still remembers that night like it was yesterday, because he remembers how guilty he felt buying that magazine and how shocked he was when he got home and saw what [illegible] of nude women. Instead, to his surprise, between the covers of that magazine were not just nude women, but nude women in chains with other women beating them with whips and a lot of other "weird things" that Eddy had never seen before.

Then, almost as if something was forcing him to do so, Eddy found himself stopping by that same convenience store quite often on his way home. While he changed clothes and got ready to pick up Patty Sue, he would look through his latest purchase and get himself "hopped up" on what was to become the seed that would one day produce a PORNOMANIAC.

Actually, Eddy was a nice kid. He really was. So was Patty Sue. Eddy didn't mean to harm anyone, but he soon found himself asking Patty Sue to do "weird things," even though he knew he should not be asking those kinds of things of her. But he couldn't seem to keep from it. It wasn't long before Patty Sue decided that she had better stop seeing Eddy, and she did.

Patty Sue and Eddy were only nineteen back then. That was ten years ago. Today, Eddy is twenty-nine. During the past ten years, Eddy

JOHN W. DONOHUE

Between Two Worlds

According to the American Association of Publishers, approximately 42,000 new titles will be published in the United States this year. In a crowd that large, only the standouts can expect to be noticed by The New York Times Book Review, which, besides being part of the paper's overstuffed Sunday edition, is also our most widely read literary journal.

An even smaller number of new books will collect the highest prize in the weekly lottery and find themselves on the Review's front page where usually only one book is featured. On Feb. 28, that grand prix spot went to *Hunger of Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez* (Godine. 195p $13.95). This is the autobiography of a 37-year-old writer whose previous publications have been a half-dozen or so essays in rather obscure magazines. His first book is receiving, however, the sort of welcome that is a publisher's sweetest dream. For instance, the day after it was praised in The Times Book Review, it was the subject of a favorable notice by one of the Times's weekday critics. Since then, Newsweek and Time have each devoted several columns to *Hunger of Memory,* and Mr. Rodriguez has been interviewed in such prominent places as "The Today Show."

It should be said at once that *Hunger of Memory,* which the Times succinctly characterized as "a Mexican-American's memoir of growing up in two cultures," deserves all this attention because it is a very fine book indeed. It is not, however, the sort of book one would expect to become a best seller, and in fact it hasn't.

But how does it happen that this account of a life that so far has been neither long nor noisy has attracted the flattering interest not only of Manhattan's literary power brokers but also of Merv Griffin, who has had Mr. Rodriguez as a guest on his television talk show? Very likely it is because this book, as its author says, is not only his autobiography but it is also "necessarily political, in the conventional sense, for public issues . . . have bisected my life and changed its course."

The principal issues in question have been those raised by the Federal Government's backing of bilingual education for children whose first language is not English and affirmative action programs for minority students in higher education. Many people who think of themselves as liberals dislike both these concepts. They say bilingual education might turn the United States into a divided country like Belgium or Quebec. They say affirmative action easily evolves into a quota system. They don't say their objections are prompted by self-interest, but many blacks and Hispanics think that this is really the case.

Richard Rodriguez, however, although he was born into a Spanish-speaking family and has been the beneficiary of affirmative action, argues against both bilingual schooling and preferential treatment of minority students. One cannot help thinking that these unexpected opinions have concentrated the minds of those who have been talking about his book.

But *Hunger of Memory* is much more than political. It tells a straightforward story with a moving simplicity and in a style that has the lightness and clarity which can only be achieved by a scrupulous care for words. The title itself is rather arty and represents a tendency that sideswipes the narrative once in a while. But this book is a pleasure to read because it has actually been *written*—not just poured off the top of the author's head or chattered out of a typewriter or into a tape recorder. What's more, the publisher has matched this text with a volume that has been handsomely designed and produced.

Language, it appears, is Richard Rodriguez's predominant passion; as he says, "the great subject of my life." In this book, the recollections of that life begin with his enrollment more than 30 years ago in the first grade of the Sacred Heart parochial school in Sacramento, Calif. Six-year-old Richard was the third child and second son of devout, level-headed and hard-working Mexican immigrants. His father and mother are still more comfortable speaking Spanish than English, but when their children were small they deliberately moved from a Chicano neighborhood to live, as their son says, "among gringos," the people they also called "los americanos."

Nowadays, the Rodriguez children are themselves thoroughly American. His older brother is a lawyer; his two sisters are business women. Richard Rodriguez, after two decades of schooling that put a promising university career within his reach, is a part-time writer who lives in San Francisco and takes other jobs only, as he says, "to support my habit of writing."

Unlike his brother and sisters, however, Mr. Rodriguez was not assimilated into the American mainstream without a great deal of uneasy introspection. He has, he says, the dark skin of a man who has just returned from skiing in the Swiss Alps, and when he was a boy, this troubled him. He is still troubled by the conviction that he has been educated away from his parents' culture and is therefore inevitably alienated from them. One of his friends complained that his writings have too much of "all that Spanish angst."

But as Richard Rodriguez sees it, that anxiety was the price he had to pay as he moved from what he calls the private world of his Spanish-speaking family to the public world in which he became what he is now—a highly-educated middle-class American. It is certainly true that to have been educated is to have been changed, or as Mr. Rodriguez says, reformed. In some sense, moreover, educated people do leave uneducated parents behind. For the children of immigrants, this may also mean leaving behind the culture of the old country and the language that is one of its principal elements. His father and mother, Richard Rodriguez writes, "are no longer my parents in a cultural sense." Like any separation, this one was painful but he thinks it was necessary: "Only when I was able to think of myself as an American, no longer an alien in *gringo* society, could I seek the rights and opportunities necessary for full public individuality." He is grateful to the Sisters of Mercy in the Sacred Heart school who required him to become proficient in English as quickly as possible.

It is clear from this profoundly analytic memoir that education involved a painful uprooting in Richard Rodriguez's case, but it is not equally clear that this must be the case for every Spanish-speaking child. In

the United States today, there are between 15 million and 20 million Hispanics, more than half of them of Mexican descent or origin. Most of them want to possess what Mr. Rodriguez calls the full public individuality of an educated American. As a rule, however, their spokesmen are not convinced that this goal is necessarily tied to mastery of English or that it requires even a temporary separation from the ancestral culture.

Cruz Reynoso, who earlier this year became the first Hispanic to be appointed to the California Supreme Court, is one such spokesman. Mr. Reynoso was a member of the Federal Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy and like 12 of the 15 other commissioners, he added a supplementary statement when the commission filed its final report in 1981. In opposing efforts to make English a voting requirement, Judge Reynoso wrote: "Of course, we as individuals would urge all to learn English for that is the language used by most Americans, as well as the language of the marketplace. But, we should no more demand English-language skills for citizenship than we should demand uniformity of religion. That a person wants to become a citizen and will make a good citizen is more than enough."

Generally speaking, the leaders of the Spanish-American communities, whether they be Congressmen, Catholic bishops, lawyers or lobbyists, think more like Judge Reynoso than like Mr. Rodriguez. For instance, they strongly support programs of bilingual education for the 3.5 million public school children for whom English has not been the primary language. English is taught intensively in these programs but until the children have become adept in it, the instruction they receive in such other subjects as mathematics and social studies is given in the language they learned at home.

In the 1974 case of Lau v. Nichols, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that some sort of special education must be provided for children not yet proficient in English—in this instance, for Chinese-speaking children in San Francisco. But in August 1980, when Secretary of Education Shirley M. Hufstedler issued Federal regulations requiring that this special education take the form of a bilingual program, the uproar was fierce. Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, said this directive was as an "unmitigated disaster." The New York Times took a more measured approach, but in an editorial entitled "Ending the Bilingual Double-Talk" (Aug. 8, 1980), warned that Federal bilingual funds must be used "to help Hispanic children, not to make Spanish an official language or to make jobs for Hispanic teachers unqualified to teach in English."

That is true enough. But it is also true that the public school establishment has no enthusiasm for bilingual education and will be delighted to learn that Richard Rodriguez thinks this method is a mistake. In an all-English elementary school, he quickly became not only a first-rate student but a voracious reader who had gone through all of Dickens's novels before he began high school with the Christian Brothers in Sacramento. He had no trouble winning acceptance by Stanford University, and during his undergraduate and graduate studies he was the beneficiary of various programs of affirmative action. As a graduate student in the English department of the University of California at Berkeley, he was flooded with job offers from distinguished universities eager to recruit a minority faculty member. In his book, he declined none of these invitations because he thought they had been extended for the wrong reason. This complicated his resolution when one of his fellow students, who had received only a single unattractive job offer, complained: "You're the one who gets all the breaks. . . . You're a Chicano. And I am a Jew. That's really the only difference between us."

Richard Rodriguez thinks that bitterness was justified. Because there have been relatively few minority students on the campuses, he says, the affirmative action programs have been giving excessive benefits to those Chicanos and blacks who are there. He decided, therefore, to disqualify himself from the profession of university teaching as long as affirmative action continues. This quixotic protest has made him unpopular with minority activists who consider him a coconut: brown on the outside, white on the inside. It has also made him an unusual guest for talk shows.

Hunger of Memory should appeal, however, to readers who have no stake in either side of the quarrels about bilingual education and affirmative action. Because Richard Rodriguez is an artist, he has managed to tell a specific American story in a way that draws easily into the light certain universal truths about the process of growing up.

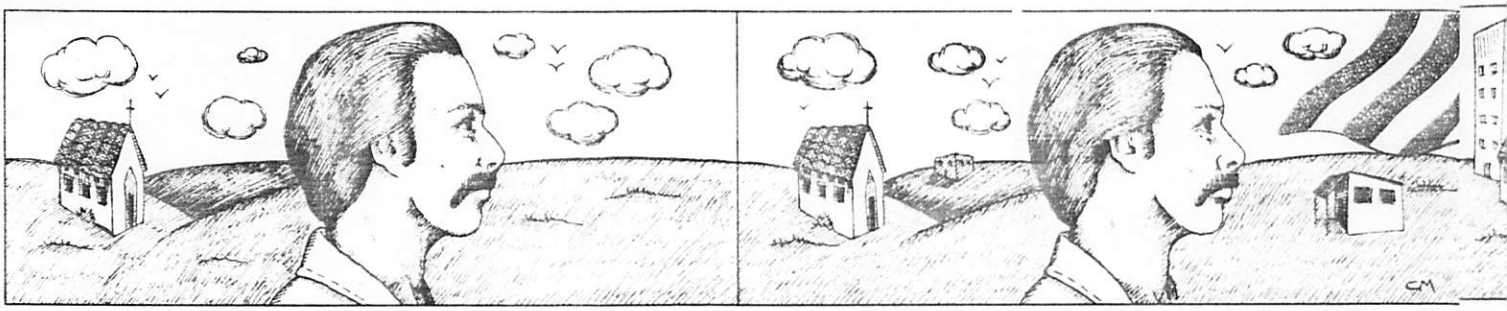
And for American Catholics, this book has special dividends. By now, plays and memoirs about parochial schooling are legion. Some are funny, and some are waspish but all of them are as inadequate as overwrought cartoons are bound to be. *Hunger of Memory* contains something more true and more rare—the best short account we have had so far of the fundamental strength and harmony of the Catholic parish school.

A man who knows Sacramento tells me that when the first Sisters of Mercy came there by river boat in 1857, they opened a makeshift school the day after they arrived. The school that Richard Rodriguez attended in the 1950's was a descendant of that pioneering institution, and it serenely combined academic excellence with religious formation. It was also free of intolerance, he says, and provided a solid training for responsible citizenship.

The church itself not only nourished his first significant religious experience but was an essential link between the Spanish-speaking world and the wider, impersonal English-speaking world. Richard Rodriguez is a Catholic [illegible] though he is not very fond of the revised vernacular liturgy. Today he is, like most American Catholic adults, "a Catholic defined by a non-Catholic world." But in his grammar school years, he writes, "I was certain the church filled all time. Living in a community of shared faith, I enjoyed much more than mere social reenforcement of religious belief. Experienced continuously in public and private, Catholicism shaped my whole day. It framed my experience of eating and sleeping and washing; it named the season and the hour."

There is a good chance that *Hunger of Memory* will still be read a century from now. It will have survived, however, not because of some forgotten public issues that once bisected Richard Rodriguez's life, but because his history of that life has something to say about what it means to be an American, what it means to be a Catholic and what it means to be human.

«John W. Donohue, *an associate editor of* AMERICA, *frequently writes on education.*»



This and the next article, together with the discussions, continue the Center's series on Alternative American Histories.

Mexican-American History Revisited and Corrected

by Albert Camarillo

"That extraordinary vessel, the American melting pot, is bubbling once again." Chicanos, and Hispanic Americans in general, "as America's latest great wave of immigrants . . . are learning another hard lesson: latecomers start at the bottom." This from the October 16, 1978, issue of *Time* magazine.

Time's perception of Chicanos as the "last group" in the race for social mobility in the United States reflects a widespread misunderstanding of the historical reality of this ethnic group. Most important, *Time*'s perspective on Mexican-Americans beclouds and negates centuries-old historical influences which have shaped the status of this population today.

It is true that immigration from Mexico has played a fundamental role in the evolution of Mexican-American history, particularly in the twentieth century. But to limit the experience of Mexican-Americans to the history of foreign immigration to the United States is to obscure the roots of the Chicano past. Chicano history is much more than the old familiar story of another immigrant group waiting its turn to experience the "American dream" of upward social mobility.

One of the central theses in my recent book, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848–1930* (Harvard University Press, 1979), deals with the historical continuity between nineteenth- and twentieth-century Mexican-American history. I argue that, among other things, the developments during the half-century following the Mexican War of 1846-1848 determined henceforth the status of Chicanos in Southern California society. Though mass immigration from Mexico in the early twentieth century significantly affected Mexican-American society, the

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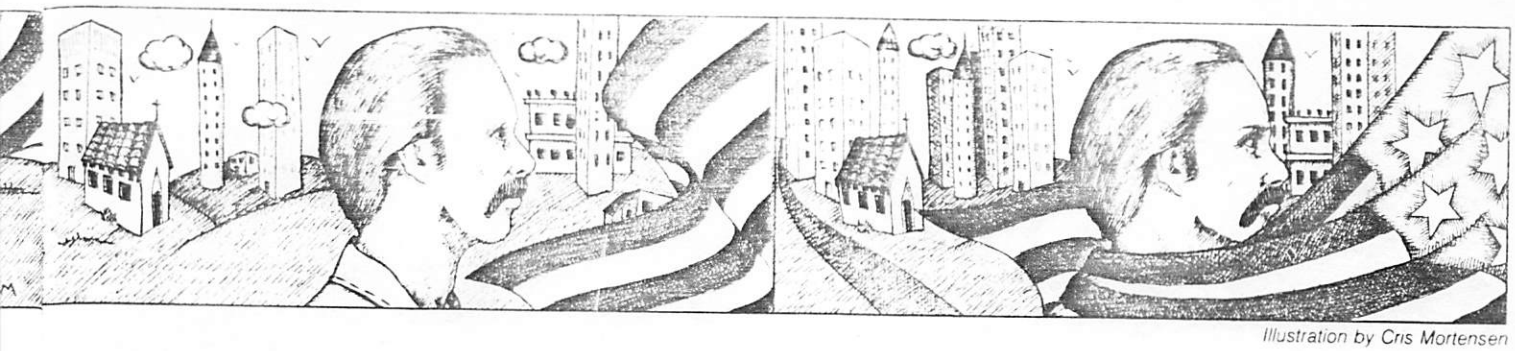


Illustration by Cris Mortensen

status of those immigrants was already determined before they entered the United States.

Despite the claim of some authors, more than just sentimental continuities existed in Mexican society between the two centuries. The story of nineteenth-century Mexican-American history in California is, on the one hand, a tragic tale of the decline and subjugation of a people who became "foreigners in their native land," and on the other hand, it is a story of the cultural, linguistic, and community persistence of a people who maintained themselves as a viable ethnic group within a radically changing society.

Two factors profoundly changed Mexican California: they were increased Anglo-American immigration and the loss of Mexican-owned land. Though the basis of racial conflict between Mexicans and the first small group of Americans was set in the eighteen-fifties, it was not until the following decade that Americans began to outnumber the Mexicans. Americans began to wrest control of county and municipal government from the Californio rancheros. By 1870, the Mexican population had experienced major political losses, although it constituted a large sector of the electorate. Election losses and racial-political conflict during the eighteen-sixties and eighteen-seventies continued to favor American control of the political apparatus as the Mexican constituency witnessed the destruction of its traditional leadership, the Californio politicos. By 1880, Anglos had achieved political hegemony.

The loss of political power by Mexicans coincided with another equally important development—the loss of Mexican land. Indeed, once Americans gained control of the political machinery, Mexican land loss increased significantly. Mexican rancho and pueblo communal lands remained relatively stable during the first decade of the American period. However, during the eighteen-sixties the forces of nature—drought and flood—and the forces of man—increased American immigration—combined to dislocate Mexicans from their ancestral lands. As a result, during the eighteen-seventies Mexican landowners lost the bulk of their lands to American speculators, unscrupulous attorneys, and squatters. Also, unfamiliarity with the English language, together with the effects of a new system of American jurisprudence—new types of taxes, the court system—furthered the demise of the Mexican landholdings and the pastoral economy. As the Mexican ranchos and pueblo communal lands were subdivided, American capitalism in the form of rural agricultural production and urban development took firm hold in the region. The traditional Mexican society could no longer be maintained as the economy changed and as the Spanish-speaking population lost control of its land.

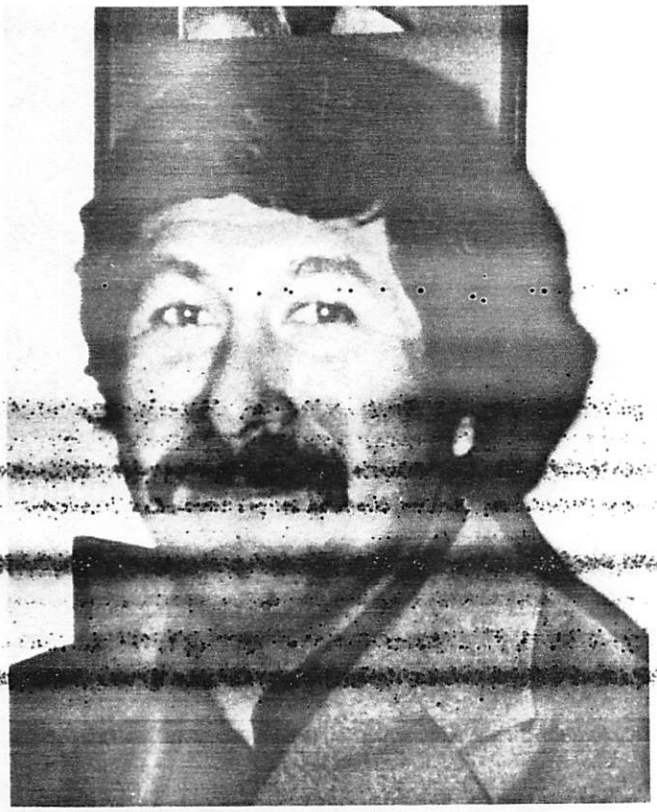
For the most part, the processes of land loss and political powerlessness had run their course by the eighteen-eighties. Those two related developments affected, in turn, two other historical patterns: barrioization and the making of the Chicano working class. Together these produced a "new Chicano reality."

Barrioization is the process by which the Mexican people in the old pueblo became a segregated, ghettoized, ethnic minority that had to adapt culturally and socially to a new, foreign environment—the burgeoning American city. The degree of barrioization was roughly proportional to the volume of American immigration. As the Anglo community expanded and became dominant, the Mexican community became subordinate and confined within the old pueblo area. By the eighteen-eighties, many Anglo newcomers—to Santa Barbara, for example—were not even aware that a relatively large Mexican population existed in the city. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Santa Barbara's old adobe homes continued to fall prey to the expanding American city built of brick and wood. Yet, the core area of this old pueblo-turned-barrio remained as a Mexican town within the heart of the American city.

The barrio provided for its minority Chicano residents an insulated, familiar world. Here the Spanish-speaking people could carry on in a fashion similar, but not identical, to their life-style when the town was predominantly Mexican. By 1880, many traditional

Mexican pastimes and customs, such as bullfights, cockfights, and other activities, had been outlawed by the Americans. Chicanos accommodated themselves socially and culturally to the new reality by keeping and modifying what they could of their traditional customs, at the same time creating new sources of ethnic and patriotic cohesiveness (Mexican national celebrations and modified recreation, all of which took place within the confines of their barrio). Sociocultural change and adaptation thus characterized this first generation of barrio dwellers.

The ruins of old adobe structures in and around the historic pueblo-barrio illustrate another development that dramatically affected Mexican people—the de-



ALBERT CAMARILLO

terioration of their pastoral economy. The decline of cattle ranching had grave consequences for Mexican workers. As the traditional occupations associated with the cattle industry declined, the Mexican workers were steadily displaced, confronting the Mexican community with increasing impoverishment. Moreover, their means of livelihood declined just when their subsistence farming on communal lands was no longer possible, since those lands had been subdivided and sold to Americans.

Faced with poverty and starvation, Chicano men, women, and children began entering the capitalist labor market as menial laborers. They were not incorporated into the new labor market, however, until the number of Chinese workers had been significantly reduced as a result of restrictive immigration legislation directed at the Chinese, and as a result of the anti-Chinese movement in general. Chicanos entered the new economy as seasonal farm workers, tourist service workers, construction laborers, cannery workers, and other unskilled and semiskilled laborers. They were a key source of labor for the expansion of urban development and agricultural production. But, underpaid and often exploited, the Chicanos have always remained an impoverished working-class element.

The portrait of the Mexican-American throughout Southern California at the turn of the century is one of anguish, pride, and perseverance. It is a portrait of a people who had endured the conquest of their society by foreigners and who had experienced the traumatic loss of their ancestral lands and traditional occupations. It was a community that could no longer control its own political destiny, particularly in view of the legacy of racial antagonism. Yet, it was a community of people which had survived these radical changes and had maintained its cultural and ethnic viability into the twentieth century.

To what extent did these social, economic, and political developments in the nineteenth century shape the experience of Mexican-Americans in the twentieth century? One can plainly see in this century the continuing of nineteenth-century trends, along with changes that have occurred in the Chicano society as well as in the larger society. First, residential concentration in the old pueblo-barrios continued to characterize the Chicano population, even as new barrios were being formed, some of which were extensions of the old pueblo and some of which were new. Mexican immigrants, who arrived in increasing numbers each decade, often lived next to the native-born; if they did not live in the same barrios they at least lived under the same conditions.

Second, the working-class experience of Mexicans at the bottom of the occupational ladder—with virtually no hope for upward mobility—characterized fourth- and fifth-generation native-born as well as the most recent immigrants from Mexico. Occupational change did occur as Mexican workers were attracted to other unskilled and semiskilled jobs arising from industrialization. However, horizontal mobility did not translate into vertical mobility.

Third, the political powerlessness of the earlier gen-

eration of nineteenth-century Chicanos continued to characterize the community of Mexicans during the twentieth century. Lack of political power was exacerbated by the reluctance of the foreign-born to become naturalized citizens.

Though the tens of thousands of immigrants who came to Southern California cities clearly fit into an existing status for Mexican-Americans, nevertheless they contributed to the cultural vitality of Mexican society in the region. Yet, to claim that contemporary Chicano society is solely a product of the early twentieth-century immigrations and subsequent migrations north from Mexico is to deny the major continuities of Chicano society from the nineteenth century.

In present-day society, the historical patterns that evolved during the second half of the nineteenth century are certainly less obvious. But for one to fully explain the host of problems that still plague Chicano communities – unemployment, low wages, educational neglect, lack of effective political access, racial tension—one only has to look at the past century to trace their origins. Mexican-American history cannot be understood without examining both its nineteenth-century roots and more recent twentieth-century developments.

As we hear and read in the mass media statements and articles about Chicanos, such as the piece quoted from *Time* magazine, we should recall the words of the historian who said that "misunderstanding of the present is the inevitable consequence of ignorance of the past."

Discussion

ALBERT CAMARILLO: Chicano history has blossomed in the last ten years. What is significant is the departure from materials that have been used to try to explain the Mexican-American experience over time. Chicano history is revisionistic, then, to a certain extent, but it goes beyond revisionism. It becomes a history that is reconstructionist. It is trying to recover, for the first time, the historical patterns that evolved in Mexican-American history, not only in California, but throughout the United States.

Nineteenth-century California history referred to the "golden age of the ranchos." Such history gave a very nostalgic, very romantic picture of the ranchero society in California, one which focused on the elite, or the upper five per cent of the *mestizo* population in California. Historians painted a rosy picture, one of a near-idyllic society, almost a utopia. And, of course, that distorted the social history of ninety-five per cent of the population, the social and economic stratification that existed in nineteenth-century California.

It has also been said that only sentimental continuities exist in Mexican-American history. That is, we can look at the Mexican heritage of the rancho period, and we can look to the mission past, but then presumably there is a clear break; there is no link in the experiences of nineteenth-century and twentieth-century Mexican-Americans. As a consequence, some scholars contend that Chicano history is simply a product of twentieth-century immigration.

While the new Chicano history does not exclude assimilation and accommodation as elements in American immigration history, it goes beyond them; it comes to grips with the themes of conflict, exploitation, racial and class stratification, and others that are critically important to understanding the Chicano experience over time.

EUGENE GARCIA *(Chairman, Department of Chicano Studies; Associate Professor of Psychology, University of California at Santa Barbara):* Your book is entitled *Chicanos in a Changing Society*. Can you talk about some of the significant changes?

CAMARILLO: We are talking about a Mexican society on the far northern frontier of Mexico that, because of the Mexican-American War, was incorporated into the United States, into the new American Southwest, the new California. The pastoral economy that had been based upon cattle ranching was to be uprooted by the beginnings of American capitalism, at first in the hinterlands, with the start of what eventually would be agribusiness in California. So, there was dramatic economic change, the substitution of one economy for another.

With that, there was a complete overturn of the political structure. The old system of city council government, and other types of Mexican republicanism, gave way, at first in Northern California, and then in Southern California, after one and two decades. The

Californio politico was edged out by Americans coming in, usually people who had capital behind them.

Then with Anglo immigration really taking off in the last half of the nineteenth century, California society was no longer predominantly Mexican. In a few decades it became predominantly American. So, on top of the economic and political changes, there was dramatic social and cultural change.

By the twentieth century, immigration had become one of the most significant of the social changes.

So, industrialization, urbanization, and mass immigration from Mexico are the three most significant interrelated changes. These changes did not affect everyone at the same time. South Texas developed more slowly than Southern California. As a whole, northern New Mexico developed much differently; it was the exception, rather than the rule, as far as Southwest development is concerned. But, clearly, the overriding historical factor is the full incorporation of the new American Southwest within the economic, cultural, and political mainstream of the United States.

DOUGLAS HENRY DANIELS *(Assistant Professor of Black Studies and History, University of California at Santa Barbara)*: Given the uniqueness of the experience of a subjugated people, as opposed to people who had come to America from Europe, are there new concepts emerging that go along with the new Chicano history?

CAMARILLO: There are new conceptual frameworks that also fit within the experience of blacks in American society. I am optimistic about the possibility of historians producing for the first time some systematic comparative analyses of the histories of blacks, Chicanos, and other groups. I do think that theories posited for Chicanos have explanatory value for other groups who have experienced racial discrimination.

RICHARD GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO *(Visiting Associate Professor of History, University of California at San Diego)*: I don't see Chicano history as developing a comprehensive theory of history with the same explanatory magnitude as, say, Marxist economic theory or Marxist historical theory. I think Chicano social history's main contribution is in the two areas that Mr. Camarillo has mentioned: new methodologies and finding new information about the Chicano experience in the Southwest. There may be a schism among Chicano historians about the value of approaching history from the standpoint of a theory rather than developing a story, a detailed story, if you want, but something that lays out the reality of the past, rather than something that tries to impose a theoretical concept on that reality. That may be a conflict among some Chicano historians over what the value of history should be. It is certainly a conflict among social historians.

DANIELS: I was not referring to a theory that should be applied to or imposed on reality. I am much more concerned with concepts emerging from grass-roots research, from the bottom up. Given the uniqueness of the Chicano experience, it would seem that some new ideas, or concepts, or methodology, might emerge.

GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO: The American pragmatic tradition in social history handles concepts in a very piecemeal fashion. There is one concept here, another concept there, but there isn't much relationship between them. In contrast, in the European tradition, there is much more sensitivity for the philosophical reality of history. We are a long way from that in social history and in Chicano history. We are developing new concepts. Mr. Camarillo has pinpointed some of the important ones. But the whole development of concepts is cumulative. Perhaps further down the road somebody will develop over-all concepts although, given the American tradition of pragmatism, that is questionable.

CAMARILLO: Studying a group such as the Mexican-Americans in the nineteenth century offers an interesting insight. You have a group that, after conquest, continues to live in its traditional historical area. You can then study that group over time to see how it evolved within the developing American society. You can see the structural forces that affected that group. Thus, by the twentieth century, you can identify patterns of political and working-class behavior. And you can see patterns of social and cultural activities within the community which clearly continue to affect Mexican-American society. But it is with the original nineteenth-century group, rather than immigrant history, that one can make such studies and get such insights.

DONALD McDONALD *(Editor, The Center Magazine)*: To what extent are young Chicanos being exposed to the kind of history that we are talking about here? How much of this reconstructed Chicano history is getting into the school system, and at what levels?

CAMARILLO: Unfortunately, not much is in the schools. We have had our impact only in the institutions of higher education over the last ten years.

McDONALD: Do the American history books, those used in our high schools, reflect the kind of Mexican-American history we have been discussing here?

PEDRO CASTILLO *(Assistant Professor of History, University of California at Santa Cruz. Visiting Research Associate, Chicano Studies Center, University of California at Los Angeles):* I haven't made a rigorous analysis of junior high school and senior high school American history textbooks, but my sense is that if anything is mentioned about Mexicanos, it is possibly a paragraph on Cesar Chavez and the Farm Workers' Movement. I think the same is true of women's history and possibly of black history, although the latter may have a longer heritage in the general history textbooks. It is going to take a while for individuals who write the junior high and high school textbooks to pick up, read, and then integrate into their texts the kind of studies we have referred to here.

MANUEL CARLOS *(Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of California at Santa Barbara):* I am not a historian. I am an anthropologist. I haven't done historical research in the Chicano experience, but I have worked with contemporary Chicano populations. Recently I did a paper on ethnic enclavement among the Maya Indians of Mexico, and it has some historical depth to it. Mr. Camarillo, I don't think you are crediting yourself with enough of a contribution in your concept of barrioization. You are really talking about how ethnic boundaries get started and how they are maintained. There is a whole tradition in anthropology of studying ethnic enclaves. You have developed your concept exactly as you say Chicano historians are working today. You started with the evidence. The evidence led you to the fact that enclaves were being developed.

Well, what do we mean by that? What do we mean by enclavement? Anthropologists call enclavement the process of encapsulation, a way by which the dominant society builds around and contains the subordinate societies, and then selectively dominates, exploits, and draws from the latter what it wishes. It also imposes on the subordinate society its own norms and values. It forces, if you will, the acculturation process to take place.

The internal culture then responds selectively. Some people accept acculturation, others resist it. You write extensively in your book about resistance to acculturation and about the norms that emerged within the Chicano culture in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, how this resistance led to revitalization.

A critical issue among anthropologists concerns whether or not one should go to the field with a preset paradigm. One must not, it is argued, impose on the data things that the data do not contain, or things that are not intrinsic to the culture that one is studying. What I hear emerging in our discussion is that you are trying to follow the latter rule. You are saying, we will look at the information, and from it shall emerge the theories. If there are no theories, then from it shall emerge the story, the reality, or whatever will best project what happened.

Now I do not believe that is possible. I think one is always working with paradigms; one is always working with theories. I think you have some latent theories going in your excellent book, theories that you may not be willing to fess up to. You are working with some very powerful theories, and some of that may have come from your being familiar with this ethnic-enclavement material of the anthropologists.

I credit you with starting a good concept, barrioization. That is something that can be operationalized. It is an excellent way to get to the Chicano experience. It would be fine to get at how the ghettos started, or, indeed, how any enclave gets going in the midst of a dominant society; what sorts of external constraints are imposed on it, what sorts of internal resistance and revitalization occur when one asserts self-identity and some sort of integrity within such a society.

I also think both of your works—Mr. Camarillo and Mr. Griswold—are excellent for showing the ongoing ties with Mexican society. I have always believed that each immigrant wave culturally revitalizes America. Every generation of Chicanos has to deal with a new generation of Mexicanos. From that emerges a continuing revitalization. Historians will have to deal with that. It's certainly evident, as one studies society today, that we are again going through that process.

So there is a double acculturation process, if you will. Mexicanos are reacculturating Chicanos and Chicanos are working their thing on the Mexicanos. All the while, both groups are confronting the Anglos. This is a most complicated acculturation process. It is not simply Chicanos vis-à-vis the Anglo population. It is more complex than that.

CEDRIC ROBINSON *(Director, Center for Black Studies; Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California at Santa Barbara):* Historians who happen to be Chicanos are to some extent an imprint of the social movement. To presume that that social movement has had nothing to do with the placement of the Griswolds at U.C. San Diego or the Camarillos at Stanford University is naive and consequently also potentially very destructive. I

say that because it also speaks to what those who are not Chicanos come to anticipate as the intellectual force which is organically emerging in history, anthropology, and political science as the ideological thrust of the social movement.

One expects, then, that ultimately Chicano history must be more than revisionist, more than reconstructionist. Indeed, it must mount a powerful and substantial critique of those intellectual and historiographic traditions which presumably all of you were exposed to as students in American universities. There is a notion that one can talk about an American economy and a Mexican economy as if they were distinct phenomena and not pay attention to the degree to which American capital derationalized the Mexican economy, producing the presumed push which is one explanation for the kinds of migration one saw in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

I agree with Manuel Carlos that you never go into the field without paradigms, theories, preconceptions. And you go there because you have been produced by a society, produced by a people. Presumably you go into the field with at least the presumption that those people are valuable, and that to the extent that they are Chicano or Mexican or what have you, then theirs is a rich tradition, and that somehow you are responsible for articulating it and providing the basis for its further development.

Now, it is fashionable in American academia, where so many of the questions have been removed, where so much trivia has been kept, for powerful conceptualizations, concerns, and values seldom to show up. Where, then, is the radical basis for Chicano history?

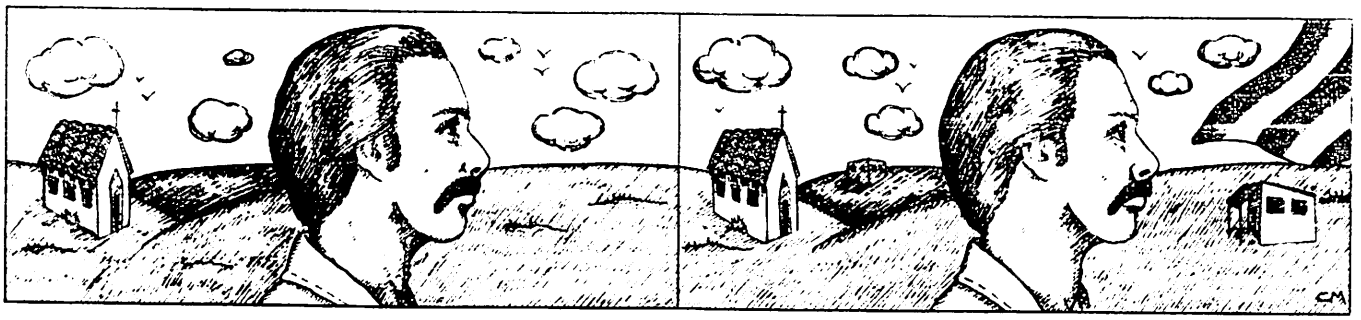
GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO: That is a very significant question. What *are* the radical roots of Chicano history? I think the most radical thing I do in my book is try to envision the history of the Chicano from the point of view of the Chicanos themselves, and at least not attempt to impose knowingly a paradigm or a conceptualization that is inimical to the basic reality of their culture and spirit.

As far as political radicalism is concerned, I am not sure it is there. It depends upon how you define radical. If you have a subject that has never been discussed or thought about before, and if you raise it, and not only raise it, but investigate it in great detail, do a lot of research on it, try to articulate it and make it known, that may be radical. But Mr. Camarillo raised the important point that one of the myths we have been working with until recently is that Chicano history, or the history of the Mexican in the Southwest after 1848, is irretrievably lost. For dramatic proof of that, go to the Bancroft Library and try to find information about the Mexicans after 1848. That is the cutoff point. That library has been almost wholly concerned with collecting materials on the Mexicans in California before 1848. No major library in the Southwest—aside from the Chicano-studies collections that are just picking up now—has considered the history of the Mexican in the nineteenth century after 1848. That is a very large gap in Mexican history—between 1848 and 1910.

CAMARILLO: Historians go about their analyses in a way that is significantly different from that of other social scientists. But that does not mean that radical interpretations of history cannot come from historians. Now, it is incumbent on historians, and in particular on Chicano historians, first to accumulate knowledge. That has been the preoccupation of Chicano historians because material that would allow us to interpret the Mexican-American experience over time has not existed. So we have been developing that essential body of historical information. But along the way, historians, together with scholars from a few other social sciences, have developed the basis for a conceptual framework which, ten years down the road, will enable us to develop some concepts from this accumulation of information.

As far as radical intellectual traditions are concerned, of course we do not impose a theory on our historical information. That would be counterproductive to the work of the historians. But there are traditions, some of which we carry with us, whether we like to admit it or not. Some are based on Third World dependency theory. Some refer to racial and class stratification as the occupational structure evolves for Mexicans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

So, there are traditions and scholarly concepts, and we are familiar with them, but we use them in a different way. It is clear in American society today, as well as throughout the twentieth century, that there has been inequality in just about every sector of American life, vis-à-vis Chicanos, vis-à-vis blacks, and so on. How can we begin to trace the roots and the nature of the structural relationship in that society? That is what we have been preoccupied with. And no doubt that will be a primary focus of our analysis, at least for the next ten or twenty years, until we feel sufficiently comfortable with the body of knowledge that has been accumulated. Then perhaps, along with sociologists and political scientists, we can develop a conceptual overview with greater explanatory power. But our primary task has been to write the history of the Mexican-American community. We have not had that before.



Chicanos' Cultural Vitality Under Pressure

by Richard Griswold del Castillo

In the last decade scholars have produced many dissertations, monographs, and articles exploring new themes and topics in Chicano history. Of recurring interest is the analysis of the socioeconomic subordination of the Spanish-speaking people in the Southwest. Three books have recently appeared which give new depth and focus to our understanding of the economic and cultural development of Chicano society: Mario Barrera's *Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Racial Inequality;* Albert Camarillo's *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848–1890;* and my own book, *The Los Angeles Barrio 1850–1890: A Social History.*

Barrera has brought together most of the important monographs on Chicano economic and political history in an attempt to formulate a new theory of racial inequality in the Southwest. He describes a colonial labor system emerging in the nineteenth century which has persisted with only minor modifications up to the present. "A colonial labor system exists," he says, "where the labor force is segmented along ethnic and/or racial lines, and one or more of the segments is systematically maintained in a subordinate position."

Barrera classifies the main characteristics of this developing colonial labor system as labor repression, a dual wage system, occupational stratification, the formation of a reserve labor force, and the use of Chicano workers as a buffer against economic depressions. Specifically, he conceives of Chicanos in the nineteenth century as moving from a position of economic irrelevance to one of secondary integration into a new colonial economic order. Barrera analyzes both the rural and urban experiences of Chicanos, and notes varia-

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tions in the timing and historical conditions of their colonization.

In *Chicanos in a Changing Society,* Camarillo has studied the urban history of Chicanos in four California towns and cities: Los Angeles, San Salvador (near San Bernardino), San Diego, and Santa Barbara. He develops the concept of "barrioization" to explain the complex changes wrought by the Anglo-American conquest. While analyzing the economic subjugation of Chicanos as they were incorporated into the commercial and agricultural industries in Southern California, he also delineates their changing social and cultural life.

Barrioization had devastating effects on the communities of San Salvador and on Old Town, San Diego.

RICHARD GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO

San Salvador ceased to exist as a viable barrio by 1900 due to floods, encroaching Anglo farmers, and racial prejudice. San Diego's Old Town became a quaint tourist attraction as Anglo merchants and residents moved the heart of the city away from the older pueblo and allowed the barrio to deteriorate.

The barrios of Santa Barbara and Los Angeles suffered similar pressures as the Chicano populations experienced downward socioeconomic mobility, geographic segregation, increased unemployment, migratory labor pressures, and increasing child and woman labor. In Santa Barbara, seasonal agricultural work and occasional employment in construction replaced traditional pastoral occupations. Camarillo's study of Southern California in the nineteenth century is a more specific description of the colonization process delineated by Barrera.

My book, *The Los Angeles Barrio 1850–1890,* supports the general thesis that many of the economic, societal, and cultural patterns of present-day urban Chicano life originated in the nineteenth century. Like Camarillo's and Barrera's work it analyzes the dialectic of colonization or barrioization that was operating throughout Aztlán as Anglos came into contact with Chicanos.

I examine four areas of transition: changes in economic and occupational opportunities; transformations in family life; geographic and political isolation; and the development of cultural identity. The general process of economic and societal colonization is interwoven with a theme of cultural vitality and change. The normative transformation of Los Angeles' Chicano culture is seen as explaining the continuity of barrio life into the twentieth century.

Often neglected and difficult to document is the way in which Chicanos in the last century changed their own society as they responded to impersonal economic forces. The following is an attempt to interpret the cultural aspects of socioeconomic change in the Los Angeles barrio. The focus will be on the degree to which urban Chicanos altered their world view in response to new political material realities.

After 1848, political and economic conflicts with the Anglo-Americans determined, to a large degree, the evolution of Chicano society. Racial prejudice and violence—most notably in the race war of the early eighteen-fifties—created ethnic solidarity in Los Angeles. Attitudes and stereotypes of those early years eventually translated into rigid socioeconomic patterns. Mexicans and Chicanos rapidly became an exploited laboring caste. However, the clash of economic systems and values was not the only thing molding Chicano urban society. Had its development depended solely on persecution by the Anglos, the Chicano community would have disappeared in a short time.

The revitalization of Chicano culture in the decades following the Anglo conquest and colonization parallels the experience of other groups. Edward Spicer in *Cycles of Conquest* has found that the Indian culture in the American Southwest experienced a similar transmutation and revitalization out of conflict and contact

with the Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American cultures. Cultural borrowing played a key role in both the Chicano and Indian experience. Chicanos acquired some elements of the Anglo-American culture. In Los Angeles, increasing intermarriage, English-language education, bilingualism, and the growth of a small professional class were evidence of this accommodation. Like the Indian societies, the Chicanos opposed their assimilation in violent and nonviolent ways. Banditry was a form of protest but peaceful resistance was more common. Social protestations appearing in Spanish-language newspaper editorials, impassioned speeches during symbolic national holidays like the 16 de Septiembre and Cinco de Mayo, and a general refusal to participate and legitimize the political and social systems were forms of early resistance.

The Spanish-speaking were confronted with an aggressive and dynamic colonization effort. Anglo-American commercial capitalism changed the Mexican way of life much more rapidly than the Spanish and Mexican pastoral economy had changed the Indian life-style. Instead of missions, presidios, and pueblos, the Anglos built railroads, farms, and factories. Chicanos had less time than had the Indians to adjust to their new socioeconomic environment. In only a few decades traditional Californio society, along with the ranchos which had given it vitality, ceased to exist.

The elements of the Mexican urban culture which survived the period of violent racial conflict (1848–1870) were those which were not directly linked to this pastoral economy. They included beliefs and customs firmly rooted in the family. The acceptance of intermarriage, toleration of common-law unions, hospitality toward strangers, respect for older members of the community, the use of the Spanish language, and deference toward the old ranchero families were all traditional values which persisted into the American era.

The social values which died out or declined in importance from 1850 to 1870 related to the ranching economy. The tradition of extended family living, since it depended on prosperity, became less important. Lacking the security of rancho ownership or stable employment, families were less able to support their relatives within the same household. The value of personalized community associations changed as families were forced to leave their homes in search of work during depressions and periods of economic transition. Increasing proletarianization of the Chicano labor force compelled women to move out of their traditional roles as homemakers to seek jobs. Women, either because their husbands had been forced to leave the barrio in search of jobs or because of their spouses' early death, increasingly became single heads of households.

A decline in the importance of the Catholic Church as a legitimizer and preserver of the status quo was less clearly due to economic oppression. Quasi-official religious practices seem to have become more important in the spiritual life of the Spanish-speaking *pobladores*. A folk religion supplanted formal religious observance as the policies and administration of the Church passed into the hands of foreigners.

Finally, after the Anglo conquest, the Los Angeles Chicanos evolved entirely new sets of cultural norms and attitudes. In some cases these new values represented a reversal of previously held beliefs. Prior to 1846, for example, the Mexican immigrant had not been entirely welcome in the pueblo. The native-born Californio, in particular, regarded the Mexican with contempt and suspicion. During the gold rush, and in later years, this changed, due to continued large-scale Mexican immigration into the city. From 1860 to 1880, about one-quarter of the Spanish-speaking population in Los Angeles were Mexican-born immigrants. This demographic situation had no precedent in the Mexican era. Mexican-born and California-born alike were subject to the same prejudicial laws such as the Foreign Miner's Tax Law, the Sunday Law, and the so-called "Greaser Law" of the late eighteen-fifties. Mexicanos intermarried with the working-class native-born. The native- and foreign-born lived side by side in the barrio. As a result of Anglo prejudice and economic pressures, the Mexican immigrant became a more integral part of the Chicano community in Los Angeles. While a few of the older Californios may have continued to think of the immigrants as undesirable *cholos*, the mass of Chicanos could find much in common with their recently arrived cousins.

In the Mexican era most *pobladores* regarded the Mexican government as a distant foreign power, a threat to local autonomy. They had little sense of identification with the Mexican nation or the government. After the Mexican War this attitude changed. Los Angeles spawned numerous repatriation societies during the eighteen-fifties in response to offers by the Mexican government to resettle its former citizens in more hospitable country. In the eighteen-sixties Benito Juárez's Reforma and resistance against the French intervention generated a new pride in being Mexicano. Pro-Juárez sentiments flooded the Spanish-language newspaper in Los Angeles, intensifying nationalistic feelings. By the eighteen-seventies and eighteen-eighties, barrio residents regularly celebrated Mexican

national holidays, evidence of a new-found patriotic sentiment.

The Los Angeles Chicanos also evolved new attitudes regarding their racial identity. In the Mexican era there had been three distinct racial/social castes: the *gente de razón* or upper-class landowners; the *mestizos;* and the Indios. The Anglos tended to blur these distinctions among the Spanish-speaking and lump all the Mexican-appearing individuals into one caste. Most *hacendados* joined the ranks of the dispossessed. The identifiable Indian population in Los Angeles disappeared, its remnants absorbed into Chicano society by marriage or adoption. By the eighteen-eighties, there is evidence that Chicanos were beginning to conceive of themselves as members of *La Raza,* a term used in the press of that day to mean a mystical, cultural group, one which transcended class lines and shared a common destiny. There emerged a new secular ideological unity which had not been present in the Mexican era.

Barrioization reinforced a sense of separateness and ethnic unity. Californio society prior to 1850 had been diffused over a number of locales: in towns, missions (until 1834), ranchos, and isolated *colonias,* or small rural settlements. As the countryside ceased to be owned by Californios and as the Spanish-speaking were driven from the northern mining camps, the urban barrios began to assume an importance which they had lacked in the Mexican era. The barrio, a creation of the Anglo conquest, became the meeting ground for diverse elements of Mexican society. It was the crucible for cultural change as well as the laboratory for accommodation with the Anglo-American way of life.

Within the barrio, new resentment and a sense of social consciousness arose. Violence, unemployment, overcrowding, poor housing, unsanitary conditions, and political neglect became permanent features of barrio life. The barrio was less a stable community than a region of the city where Mexican and Chicano laborers lived with their families for short periods of time, soon moving on in search of jobs and more favorable living conditions. Impermanence was a major characteristic of barrio life in the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century. The barrio was a radical departure from the more stable town life of the Mexican era.

In order to cope with increasing alienation, Chicanos established scores of new organizations and newspapers. In the Mexican era there had been little need for special-interest organizations or a community press. The Church and the Californio elite had served well enough to articulate group concerns, provide for social and cultural activities, and organize for political action. The destruction of the ranchero class, the Anglo takeover of the Catholic Church, and the increasing impermanence of community life forced Chicanos to create alternative means of holding their society together. Through the Spanish-language press and social political associations, Chicanos were able to compete with and thus blunt the assimilationist pressures of Anglo society. Moreover, they were able to develop, in their urban culture, viable alternatives to the Anglo way of life.

Intensive research into the economic colonization of Chicanos in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has produced a clear thesis. Historic patterns of economic oppression, racial prejudice, political disenfranchisement, and segregation have created a Chicano class structure which has been systematically subordinated within American society. While more research is needed to expand this thesis with respect to other regions of the United States, increasing attention is being given to the social and cultural consequences of this colonization process. The varieties of Chicano history in labor organizations, the educational system, family development, political and social associations, and literary and artistic endeavors have already been the subjects of scholarly dissertations, books, and articles. This is an important development in contemporary Chicano scholarship.

Discussion

McDONALD: Is it accurate to say the barrio was of ambiguous value? The term revitalization is associated with barrio life and the Mexican-Americans' resistance to oppression and subordination by the dominant culture. And yet, you say that at a certain stage in the history of the barrio, it was less a stable community than simply a region of a city where people stayed for a while before moving on. Is barrio life a true indicator, then, of the vitality of the people? Or is it a vitality that is only relative? Would there be a greater vitality for the Chicano people if the barrio finally disappeared and there were complete assimilation, or—a better word—integration? In other words, is there a definition of

vitality which goes beyond barrio existence? Is the barrio life we have been discussing simply a transient existence offering a vitality that is transitional at best?

GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO: I don't think it is a transitional vitality. The whole Chicano movement, if we are talking about contemporary times, was born in the barrio. The barrio was the base for launching the Chicano movement. It continues to be the base.

Granted, the barrios have changed a great deal; they have, in some cases, become diffused. For many Chicanos, the barrio is an ambivalent place. It is a home and a place of refuge. It is a place where your parents and you were born and grew up. But it also has a lot of negative things associated with it. It is a place of unemployment, of high crime rate, of oppression. It is depressing sometimes. So, many Chicanos do feel ambivalent about the barrio. They like the barrio for being with the *gente*, but it is also a place you move away from. A lot of middle-class Chicanos have done that.

McDONALD: Is the ideal future one in which there would be ethnic and cultural integrity within the Mexican-American community, but in which that community would be quite open and porous so that there would be a lot of movement back and forth between it and the larger society? Is the barrioization of life in some way not the ultimate goal for Mexican-Americans? I realize there is much to be said, obviously, about ethnic integrity and the importance of ethnic enclaves, whether they be Chicano, or black, or Indian, or Jewish, or Oriental.

CARLOS: The question of vitality is an interesting one. It was answered in Griswold's study of the Los Angeles barrio which discusses the newspapers and the voluntary associations in the barrio. There is vitality in Chicano communities today, but you have to look for it in the informal social organization of the community. Historically, because you cannot get to those data, it may have looked as though there were no common things uniting those geographic areas, the barrios. But if we could do a social network analysis, as I have done in contemporary populations, you would begin to see an incredible amount of social interaction in these mutual aid organizations. The *compadrazgo*—effective kinship, co-parenthood among Chicano and Mexican populations—is based on the notion of reciprocity, exchange, mutual aid. Now, that does not go on all the time or among everybody; and it does not mean that everybody likes everybody else. But it does go on within significant segments or networks in the community. So there is a vitality there and there is a continuing identity process going on. Now that will fluctuate in response to external as well as internal pressures.

The fact that the barrio remains alive and that the community chooses to stress its difference from the outside society will guarantee its survival. But it will also guarantee problems for the dominant society. People in the dominant group will say, well, do you really want to be Americans or would you rather be what you are? The answer is, they want to be both. But that will pose a problem.

DAVID ROCK *(Associate Professor of History, University of California at Santa Barbara):* If I may take issue with the line of argument both Griswold and Camarillo seem to be presenting, I do not think that one should put as much weight as they seem to be putting on the survival of the Chicano community in terms of any distinctive cultural features in that community. All subjugated peasant communities have certain cultural peculiarities. Frequently these are quite similar to the ones you have been describing, and they are to be found in different places in the world.

The analysis I would like to see both of you consider involves taking a look at the workings of the labor market in late nineteenth-century California. What is it within the economic system which tends to insulate the Spanish-speaking community from pressures toward assimilation? For example, if you have to work with other people, if you have to pile in and struggle with other people in a situation characterized by limited economic resources, then the pressures toward assimilation are likely to be much greater. In that sense—and this is only a hypothesis—capitalism in California had a certain benign aspect to it. It insulated Mexican-Americans from the wider assimilation process.

Earlier I was speaking briefly and privately about this with Mr. Camarillo, and he said, well, of course the Chicanos were part of the reserve army, to use a Marxist term. That may be the key. If the Chicano community had ceased to be part of the "reserve army," it might well have become integrated within the general community. After all, many different nationalities took part in the melting-pot process.

GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO: I do not think that the development of the Chicano culture gives Chicanos something unique, something that makes their culture more resistant. I argue—and this is controversial—that Chicanos have an urban culture. There has been a big debate about whether or not black culture exists and whether or not there is such a thing as Chicano culture.

Can it really be said that Mexican-Americans have a distinctive culture? The usual assumption is that in an urban environment the shared understandings, strong identifications, and so forth, tend to be diluted to the point of being practically nonexistent. I don't think I am saying that there is something inherent or genetic in the Chicano culture that makes it less assimilable. With regard to the economic job market and how that might relate to the persistence of the barrio, it is interesting that in the Mexican era, approximately seventy per cent were laborers, *vaqueros,* and field workers—all unskilled. Seventy per cent is a very high percentage. Then in the American era, the economy changed from ranching to agriculture, and yet there was a persistence in the occupational distribution. The exploitation of the Mexican worker in the Mexican era continued in the American era. With respect to new jobs and new job opportunities, Chicanos by and large were excluded. Unskilled laboring occupations continued to be open to Chicanos. But as far as the new occupations were concerned—those related to the commercial and mercantile development that was going on in the eighteen-seventies and -eighties—the Chicanos were not included.

The causes of this segregation in the labor market are complex. Chicanos were maintained in a subordinate, exploited position in the Anglo-American period for economic reasons as well as because of racial prejudice. Employers commonly declared that "Mexicans are ideally suited for this kind of work," and "Anglos will not do that kind of work." We still have those stereotypes today. That sort of racial prejudice tends to maintain economic segregation.

CASTILLO: Is Chicano history really innovative? Is it really revisionistic? Or does it fit into the framework of either conventional urban history or the new urban history, using quantitative analysis? I am playing the devil's advocate when I ask, what is truly innovative and what is truly revisionistic about Chicano history? Is it within the mold of the new social history? Is what is innovative about it that we are now looking directly at a people who have been written about only peripherally in the past?

GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO: I think it is well-documented by now that the Chicanos' history has been one of economic exploitation and colonization. It would be beating a dead horse to prove that again. In the last part of my paper, I referred to scholars who are doing some exciting work with regard to the consequences of this exploitation, the effects of economic oppression, and the cultural manifestations of it.

I think I have said that probably the most innovative thing we are doing is getting this information together and presenting it in a coherent form, rather than in developing any novel theory.

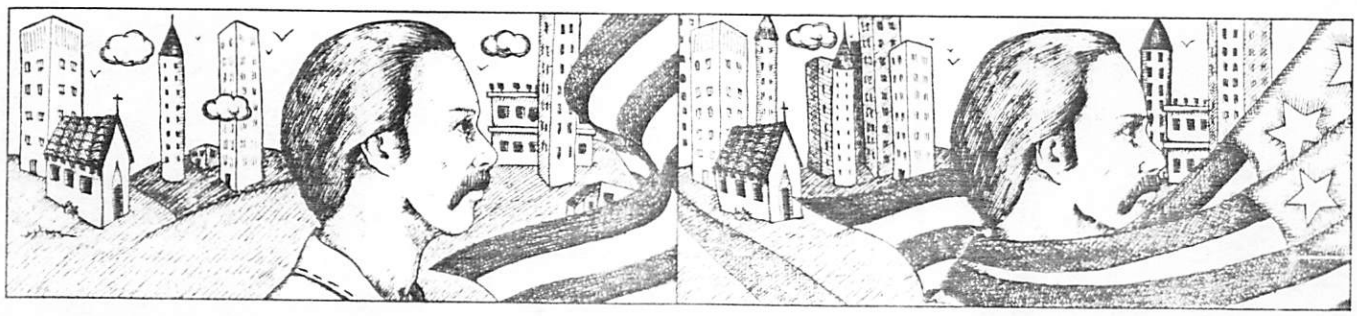
With regard to the new social history, we are still terribly undeveloped. Contemporary social history being done on immigrant and family groups is remarkable. It reflects, among other things, a great deal of sophistication in using quantitative research methods. We are going to have to do a lot of catching up if we want Chicano history to develop in that direction.

In terms of oral history, I think we are much more apt to make an original contribution. Oral history archives are being developed at El Paso, Texas, at Fullerton, California, and many other places.

MARIO GARCIA *(Assistant Professor of Chicano Studies and History, University of California at Santa Barbara):* I would take some exception to that. New methodology does not mean that one is creating new historical perspectives. That depends on what you do with your research.

GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO: I was thinking primarily of methodology.

GARCIA: It is clear that not all Chicano historians are heading in the direction of a new social history, if by new social history you mean the use of sophisticated quantitative research materials. There is another element of social history which looks more at the social and cultural realities. It is a question of perspective. □



a demonstrated need in the community; and they had to reflect community cooperation and support.

Special attention was given to geographical distribution of funds. Individual projects could not receive funding in excess of $15,000 unless the Advisory Committee judged a proposal to be exceptionally meritorious or regional in scope.

The following proposals were approved for funding as of January, 1981. All but one (Family Life Education) have been refunded for a second year. The projects and their locations in Kansas are:

- "Healthy Start," American Association of University Women, Atchison. This project establishes training and availability of volunteer visitors to offer support to new parents. Services are limited to parents of first-born children delivered at Atchison Hospital, upon written referral of the attending physician.
- "Family and Child Education Services," a coalition for prevention of child abuse organizations, Goodland. It establishes primary prevention services.
- "Self-Care Education Projects," Johnson County Coalition for Prevention of Child Abuse, Olathe. This is a self-care education course for elementary schoolchildren of working parents who do not have babysitters before and after school.
- "Family Life Education, On-the-Job," Kansas Research Institute, Lawrence. This is a primary child abuse prevention program, established through basic courses in family functioning skills workshops for company employees during working hours.
- Catholic Social Services, to establish a peer advocacy project for pregnant women and single parents, utilizing YWCA facilities, Topeka.

Three other projects were funded later:

- "Children in Crisis," Regional Crisis Center, Manhattan, to establish a child play support program for children who have experienced stress from family violence.
- "Ourselves and Our Family," a coalition for prevention of child abuse, Great Bend, to develop a broad program of primary prevention services.
- "Time Out For Parents in Wyandotte County," a county coalition for prevention of child abuse, Kansas City, to establish a respite child care program for parents.

When asked about the effectiveness of the Trust Fund, Governor Carlin said he remained committed to it because it provided services for children which assisted them to become self-sufficient and well-adjusted members of society.

"The Trust Fund makes it possible for communities to coordinate and utilize their own local resources and to design and administer their programs according to their own specific needs," he said. ■

Ed. note: As this issue goes to press the following states have passed, or are considering passage of, similar Trust Fund legislation: Washington, Virginia, Michigan, Florida, California and Alaska.

Understanding Mexican American Culture:

A Training Program

by Tonia Tash Lasater and Frank F. Montalvo

During the weekly meeting of the child welfare agency's parent education class, Mrs. Gonzales mentioned that her sons collected and sold aluminum cans. She explained that they used their money to buy school shoes. Last week, the boys made $3.50 and, Mrs. Gonzales said, "I told them, '$1.75 for you and $1.75 for me.'"

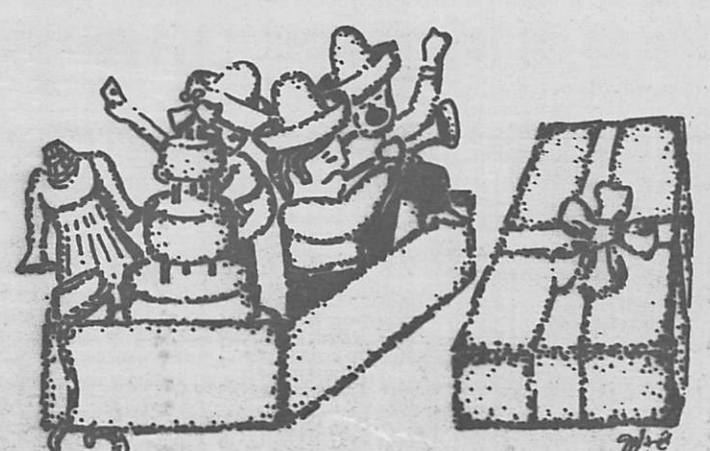
Mrs. Brown, the group leader, commented that Mrs. Gonzales might be expecting a little too much from the boys by asking them to give her half their money—and, she pointed out, since they were saving for school shoes, did it really matter anyway? Mrs. Gonzales did not respond to this comment. She didn't attend the next meeting—nor did Mrs. Garcia or Mrs. Nunez.

Why did these women drop out of the parent education group? While Mrs. Brown's comments did not appear to be out of place, they reflected *her* value orientation and not those of the Mexican American group members. When Mrs. Brown asked if splitting the money was really important, she did not recognize that Mrs. Gonzales was trying to teach her sons a basic cultural value. In the Mexican American community, children are taught at a young age that sharing, reciprocating and mutual aid strengthen family relationships and contribute to *familismo*, respect for and dedication to the family. In contrast, Mrs. Brown saw her client's actions as discouraging the children's independence and as possibly exploiting their achievement.

Another cultural value explains why the women did not make Mrs. Brown aware of their feelings, choosing instead to quietly withdraw from the group. Respecting an individual's feelings is important in the Mexican American community, as is the expression of deference. Deference is the consideration given to the opinions of others and out of respect, the women wanted to give the appearance of agreeing with Mrs. Brown.

Had Mrs. Brown been more aware of these cultural values, the women might have remained in the group. Mrs. Brown's lack of awareness, however, is not unusual among those who work with children and families from ethnic backgrounds different from their own. Nor is the high dropout rate of ethnic minorities an unusual occurrence in social service programs.

The need for developing responsive as well as equal services for ethnic groups was demonstrated in an extensive survey of mental health facilities by Stanley Sue, who found that 50 percent of minority clients drop out of treatment after one session, as compared to 30 percent of white, Anglo clients. He found that



Tonia Tash Lasater is director of the Child Welfare Curriculum Project and Frank F. Montalvo, D.S.W., is director of Continuing Education in Human Services and Culture Simulator Programs, Worden School of Social Service, Our Lady of the Lake University of San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas.

Children are taught that sharing and mutual aid strengthen family relationships and contribute to "familismo," respect for and dedication to the family.

"the persistent relationship between ethnicity and dropping out . . . indicates that ethnicity is an important correlate above and beyond the variables examined [such as social class, diagnosis, utilization rates and type of service rendered]. The explanation may reside in the experiences that clients have in face-to-face interaction. . . ."[1]

Teaching workers to understand cultural values and how they relate to service delivery has become an integral part of training designed to enhance social work practice. The large number of minority group clients within the social service system suggests a need for training materials to help practitioners meet the special needs of these clients.

One training tool, *The Mexican American Culture Simulator for Child Welfare*, was developed by the Worden School of Social Service, Our Lady of the Lake University of San Antonio, under a grant from the Children's Bureau, ACYF.[2] Designed to increase workers' understanding of and sensitivity to the culture, values and customs of Mexican American families, the instructional materials are adapted from the "Culture Assimilator" used by several multinational corporations to train business people and educators preparing to work abroad.[3]

The Mexican American Culture Simulator is a self-instructional module that contains descriptions of 40 incidents resulting from client-worker misunderstanding due to differences in their socio-cultural backgrounds. The intent is to improve caseworkers' empathic understanding of Mexican American children and families in a manner that encourages and supports their ethnic identity, integrity and community life. The simulator provides an introduction to the more traditional cultural values while allowing for variations in orientation and acculturation. It does not claim to teach a total awareness of the culture.

The focus on traditional values is justified on several counts. First, most child welfare clients live near, at or below poverty levels. Traditional customs and beliefs tend to be associated more with this group than with those in higher socioeconomic status who have experienced a greater degree of acculturation. Secondly, workers expressed more concern about misunderstanding those clients who were unacculturated to the majority culture than those who were more similar to themselves. Thirdly, certain core values are basic and shared by Mexican American families throughout the Southwest. Finally, since many of these basic, traditional values are shared by other Hispanic groups, much of the material could be applied in casework involving these groups as well.

The training approach is also cost-effective. The design and standardization of the materials enables trainers with varying backgrounds and expertise to use them with reduced risk of overgeneralizing and developing "new stereotypes," and to adapt them to various training periods, locations and needs. The case studies contain job-related information that directly relates to improving social work practice, and the exercises involve the trainee in an active problem-solving experience that is self-administered, self-paced and non-threatening.

Instructional Method

Each incident in the workbook is presented as a short vignette (about 150 words) depicting a problematic transaction between client and worker. The theme may relate to folk and/or religious customs and values, or deal with family roles and sense of pride.

The incident is followed by four multiple choice answers that provide alternative explanations for the client's or worker's behavior. Few of the answers are totally incorrect.

The trainee is asked to choose the best answer and to read the corresponding rationale, which explains why the answer selected is or is not the best one available. The worker continues selecting alternative answers and reading rationales until the best one is selected and confirmed by its corresponding rationale. It may require as few as one selection or as many as four before the reader progresses to the next vignette.

Rationales for the less-than-best alternative provide opportunities for correcting misconceptions, stereotypes or less appropriate intervention; rationales for the best answer explain the traditional value in the vignette and suggest more effective and culturally responsive intervention. The rationales are, therefore, the primary teaching devices.

The following example is taken from the trainee's workbook.

Cribs and Scissors

Mrs. Garza is working with the Navarro family, which has been referred to child welfare for neglect of their six children, ages 7 years to 3 months. On one of her visits she noticed a pair of scissors lying in the crib above the baby's head. Pointing out that the scissors were dangerous, she removed them. During a subsequent visit, Mrs. Garza finds the scissors protruding from under a pillow in the baby's crib.

This is how Mrs. Garza explained the client's needs in the case record.

A. Mrs. Navarro needs religious counseling.

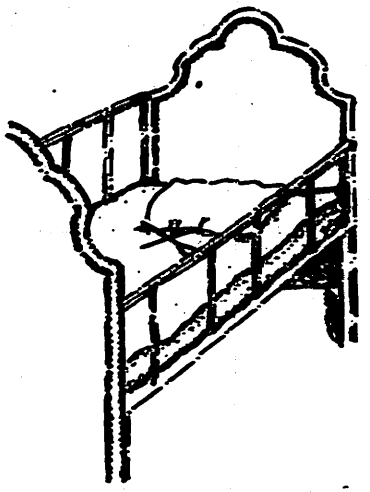
B. Mrs. Navarro needs child care classes.

C. Mrs. Navarro needs homemaker's services.

D. Mrs. Navarro needs psychological counseling.

The rationales corresponding to the vignette are explained as follows:

Rationale A (Religious Counseling). An Aztec folk custom from the areas near Mexico City and Texcoco involves placing needles in the form



Illustrations by Michelle Friesenhahn, from "The Mexican American Culture Simulator for Child Welfare."

of a cross over a door, window or under the pillow as a protective device to ward off something evil occurring. This is seen as necessary before a baby is baptized. However, there are more acceptable ways of carrying out this custom than by placing open scissors or sharp implements in the crib. They can be placed under the crib or a mirror hung at the head of the crib. Crossed palms—blessed—can be placed over the door. Or the baby can be baptized.

Rationale B (Child Care Classes). This is certainly not a good parenting practice. However, the indication is that parenting information alone will not correct the situation. Parenting classes may not be relevant to Mexican American culture in this respect. In changing parenting practices, as with any other behavior, it is wise to understand "where the client is coming from" before trying to reeducate her.

Rationale C (Homemaker Services). We do not have information in the vignette to support this choice. Also, while a homemaker in the home may change some of the problems this does not address the specific

situation regarding the scissors. C tainly they are dangerous, but homemaker is not necessary convey this point. The caseworl can handle the potential dang involved.

Rationale D (Psychological Co seling). The assumption that the are psychological problems requ ing counseling is premature, though it is often made when explicable situations are e countered. The caseworker needs investigate the situation further a refrain from making judgments the basis of one incident that be she does not understand and has examined with the client.

• • •

In this case, the first statement, is the correct response. What m first appear to be evidence of negle or ineptness on the part of the moth is actually an expression of her co cern for the well-being of the bat While such an unsafe practice nee to be discouraged, an understandi of the cultural dynamics involv will suggest the appropriate inte vention and solution of the proble This is fully explained in Rationale

The other rationales contain e planations as to why the remainir alternative answers are less appr priate to the situation. They would read by trainees who select answers B, C and D.

Trainer's Manual

The training package consists two volumes of vignettes and a trai er's manual.[4] The primary purpose the trainer's manual is to assist the in helping workers clarify and i tegrate the knowledge gained as th progress through the exercises.

Background information and detailed analysis are provided each vignette. The analyses identi the focal value or custom in the inc dent, as well as other values, custon or stereotypes that may appear eith in the incident itself or in the alterna answers. For the "Cribs and Sci sors" vignette, for example, t trainer's manual provides the follo ing information concerning the in portance of religious practices a their relationship to folk beliefs:

"Baptism is an important sacr ment not only because of its r

t that sharing and mutual aid
onships and contribute to
and dedication to the family.

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Rationales for the less-than-best alternative provide opportunities for correcting misconceptions, stereotypes or less appropriate intervention; rationales for the best answer explain the traditional value in the vignette and suggest more effective and culturally responsive intervention. The rationales are, therefore, the primary teaching devices.

The following example is taken from the trainee's workbook.

Cribs and Scissors

Mrs. Garza is working with the Navarro family, which has been referred to child welfare for neglect of their six children, ages 7 years to 3 months. On one of her visits she noticed a pair of scissors lying in the crib above the baby's head. Pointing out that the scissors were dangerous, she removed them. During a subsequent visit, Mrs. Garza finds the scissors protruding from under a pillow in the baby's crib.

This is how Mrs. Garza explained the client's needs in the case record.

A. Mrs. Navarro needs religious counseling.

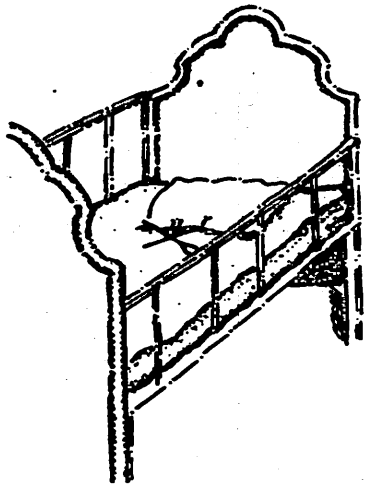
B. Mrs. Navarro needs child care classes.

C. Mrs. Navarro needs homemaker's services.

D. Mrs. Navarro needs psychological counseling.

The rationales corresponding to the vignette are explained as follows:

Rationale A (Religious Counseling). An Aztec folk custom from the areas near Mexico City and Texcoco involves placing needles in the form of a cross over a door, window or under the pillow as a protective device to ward off something evil occurring. This is seen as necessary before a baby is baptized. However, there are more acceptable ways of carrying out this custom than by placing open scissors or sharp implements in the crib. They can be placed under the crib or a mirror hung at the head of the crib. Crossed palms—blessed—can be placed over the door. Or the baby can be baptized.



Illustrations by Michelle Friesenhahn, from "The Mexican American Culture Simulator for Child Welfare."

Rationale B (Child Care Classes). This is certainly not a good parenting practice. However, the indication is that parenting information alone will not correct the situation. Parenting classes may not be relevant to Mexican American culture in this respect. In changing parenting practices, as with any other behavior, it is wise to understand "where the client is coming from" before trying to reeducate her.

Rationale C (Homemaker Services). We do not have information in the vignette to support this choice. Also, while a homemaker in the home may change some of the problems this does not address the specific situation regarding the scissors. Certainly they are dangerous, but a homemaker is not necessary to convey this point. The caseworker can handle the potential danger involved.

Rationale D (Psychological Counseling). The assumption that there are psychological problems requiring counseling is premature, although it is often made when inexplicable situations are encountered. The caseworker needs to investigate the situation further and refrain from making judgments on the basis of one incident that he or she does not understand and has not examined with the client.

• • •

In this case, the first statement, A, is the correct response. What may first appear to be evidence of neglect or ineptness on the part of the mother is actually an expression of her concern for the well-being of the baby. While such an unsafe practice needs to be discouraged, an understanding of the cultural dynamics involved will suggest the appropriate intervention and solution of the problem. This is fully explained in Rationale A.

The other rationales contain explanations as to why the remaining alternative answers are less appropriate to the situation. They would be read by trainees who selected answers B, C and D.

Trainer's Manual

The training package consists of two volumes of vignettes and a trainer's manual.[4] The primary purpose of the trainer's manual is to assist them in helping workers clarify and integrate the knowledge gained as they progress through the exercises.

Background information and a detailed analysis are provided for each vignette. The analyses identify the focal value or custom in the incident, as well as other values, customs or stereotypes that may appear either in the incident itself or in the alternate answers. For the "Cribs and Scissors" vignette, for example, the trainer's manual provides the following information concerning the importance of religious practices and their relationship to folk beliefs:

"Baptism is an important sacrament not only because of its religious significance, but also because it serves to protect the child from misfortune. Folk customs, such as the one described in the incident, serve the same purpose, but are used as an interim measure until the child is protected by the church. The origin of these practices is Indian and their use in relation to Western religious practices is believed to be due to the scarcity of priests and churches in rural Mexico."

This brief discussion is followed by bibliographic references and a list of contrasting family values in the Anglo American and Mexican American communities.

The manual also contains suggestions to help the trainer relate the learning to trainees' everyday work experience. In the "Cribs and Scissors" analysis, trainers are reminded of the importance of remaining nonjudgmental, and of the fact that the culture may provide explanations for situations that they do not understand. Suggestions for obtaining accurate information and achieving treatment goals are also given.

All vignettes are cross-referenced according to value themes—sex-related roles, bilingualism and the role of grandparents and children, for example. For some themes, the trainer is provided with an analysis of the incident in order to help trainees identify subtle diagnostic clues in the vignettes that they can transfer to their own interviews with clients.

In addition, the trainer's manual includes instructions on the use of the module in training and suggests that following simulator training a period of casework practice follow the discussions in order to further increase its learning value and to test its usefulness in practice. In field-testing the module, however, significant results were obtained without the trainee's undergoing additional training.

Development of the Module

The materials were developed by project staff with the assistance of experienced child welfare workers from the Texas Department of Human Resources. Value themes were identified after conducting 30

(Continued on page 35)

to "waste your time in

lack and white pictures the slim, early volumes. er of pictures diminish as s and readers' skills in- nly eight illustrations ap- he 464 pages of the final e series, the *Sixth Eclectic Revised Edition*, 1921. s from 111 writers, nearly n American or English and n of them women, make up ing text. (Aside from B. Browning and Helen kson, the female con- re largely unknown here licia D. Hemans, Mary Mitford, Adelaide Anne Procter, Hester Lynch Thrale and Adeline D.T. Whitney.) Other authors include Joseph Addison ("Discontentment: An Allegory"), Coleridge ("Ode to Mt. Blanc"), Dickens ("Death of Little Nell"), Patrick Henry (a selection from his 1775 speech before the Virginia Convention), Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin, Poe ("The Raven") and Shakespeare (nine selections).

For history buffs, for nostalgia buffs, and for all those interested in children's lives and the changing patterns in educational concepts and practice, the series offers fascinating browsing.

Workshops on Wheels *(Continued from page 10)*

- The provider is currently caring for state-funded children (previously considered Title XX children) or has signed a contract with the intention of caring for state-funded children.
- The home has at least three full-time children under six years of age at the time of the visit.
- The home is in a geographic area identified by demographic data as one that has a high concentration of low-income families with children under six.
- The caregiver intends to care for children for three or more years.
- The caregiver feels she needs the program's services and will benefit from them.
- The home or center is licensed by the state.

Day care providers most often learn of Seattle Day Nursery's program from their state licensors at an initial orientation. By manning display booths at conferences and by participating in workshops and professional meetings, specialists also spread word of the program. As the number of "graduates" has grown, word-of-mouth advertisement has increased as well. In addition to directly serving children and caregivers, the program has had an impact in other ways. After consulting with Seattle Day Nursery, several communities in the State of Washington have begun similar programs. Inquiries about it have come from communities in California, Hawaii, Oregon and Illinois, and presentations on the Mobile Resource Program have been featured at regional and local education conferences.

We believe that the Early Education Mobile Resource Program has widespread applicability and we encourage other communities to explore this versatile method of delivering training to day care workers. ■

Mexican American Culture *(Continued from page 25)*

group interviews with 180 key residents from low-income Mexican American communities in San Antonio.

Vignettes, based on the themes identified, were composed and tested at various stages of the project and in various teaching formats by 73 non-Mexican American workers in child welfare and family service agencies serving Mexican American families throughout the state. All test groups showed a significant increase in their knowledge of Mexican American culture and in cumulative learning.[5]

Construction of the module was based on the results of the evaluation. A similar array of themes was included in each of two volumes in order to minimize trainer's fatigue and to allow for a period of discussion and implementation into casework practice between the use of the two volumes, which contain a total of 40 vignettes. Neither volume is significantly more difficult than the other, although progressive order of difficulty was employed in each volume in order to maintain the reader's interest and to encourage his or her involvement.

Application

The Mexican American Culture Simulator for Child Welfare can be adapted to serve many training needs—as a component in competency-based curricula, for example, or integrated into community workshops, agency in-service training or university courses. It can be used in a variety of courses dealing with minority groups, human behavior and child welfare, and the vignettes can be used as a basis for group discussion and role playing.

Workers participating in cultural awareness workshops found the technique to be motivating, enjoyable and informative in learning to understand Mexican American culture. They pointed out that the materials were realistic—"I have a case just like this," several commented—and enabled them to integrate their knowledge. One worker said, for example, "I now understand what was happening in my case."

The workers also indicated that the workshops stimulated their interest in other cultural groups and helped them to recognize the influence of their own values on their social work practices.

Based on the success of the Mexican American Culture Simulator, project staff members are developing similar modules for use in other settings, and a Mexican American Culture Simulator for Mental Health is currently being developed by the Worden School of Social Service. ■

[1]Stanley Sue, "Community Mental Health Services to Minority Groups: Some Optimism, Some Pessimism," *American Psychologist*, Aug. 1977.

[2]A resource manual to assist workers who provide services to clients from Raza (Hispanic) communities has also been prepared under a grant from the Children's Bureau. Entitled *Serving La Raza: Manual for the Human Services*, the manual was developed by Rodolfo Arevalo and Christine G. Martinez of the School of Social Work, San Jose State University, San Jose, Calif. It contains four modules designed to increase workers' sensitivity to children and families in Raza communities and to enhance their effectiveness in working with them. Additional information on the manual may be obtained from Rodolfo Arevalo, School of Social Work, San Jose State University, San Jose, Calif. 95192.

[3]Fred E. Fiedler, Terence R. Mitchell and Harry C. Triandis, "The Culture Assimulator: An Approach to Cross-Cultural Training," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol. 55, 1971.

[4]Copies of the training package may be obtained for $27.50 each (plus $1.50 postage and handling) from Worden School of Social Service, Our Lady of the Lake University of San Antonio, 411 S.W. 24th St., San Antonio, TX 78285.

[5]See F.F. Montalvo, T.T. Lasater and N. Garza, "Mexican American Culture Simulator for Child Welfare: Technical Report," San Antonio, Our Lady of the Lake University, 1981 (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 207 738).

A proud society fights for its life

By Daniel Burstein

Almost everyone in the northern New Mexico hill town of San Cristobal, nestled comfortably below the snowcapped peaks of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, can tell you where to find Senor Cleofes Vigil. Sheep rancher, blacksmith, wood-carver, sculptor, singer, guitarist, storyteller, poet, painter, adobe builder and huntsman—Vigil is all of these and more: he is a self-appointed curator in an invisible museum housing memories of the vibrant culture of his grandfather's days. There is melody in Vigil's voice, but there is also pain. "In the days of my grandfather," he says almost mournfully, "this was a valley of love and trust. The people were poor but they had no desire to be rich. They took from the land and gave back to it. But now that is gone. Mansions are being built in the holy hills around Santa Fe. And that brings hate, prejudice and pollution."

PHOTOGRAPHY BY JULIE O'CONNOR/IMPACT FEATURES

Manuel Reyna of the Taos Pueblo: hate and prejudice

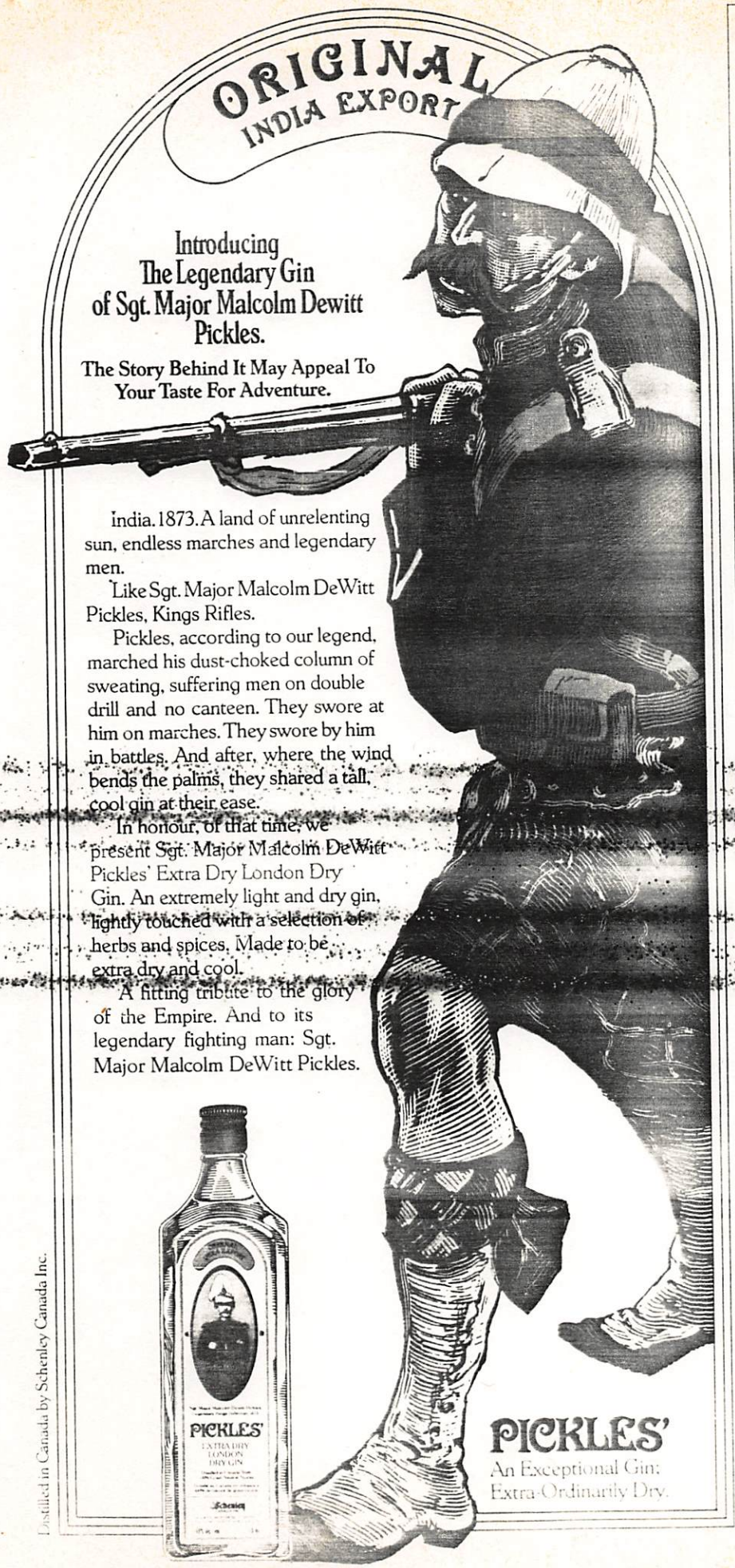
Indeed, the mansions are going up fast and furiously throughout northern New Mexico. From the 372-year-old capital city of Santa Fe to the artists' colony at Taos and the rapidly expanding ski valley above it, undulating walls of pink and beige adobes now surround sprawling estates and condominiums. The sensuous texture of adobe facades lends a unique visual harmony to the area, but conceals an intense and growing disharmony of classes, races and peoples. In an America made up largely of immigrants and rootless urban nomads, northern New Mexico is unique for the social continuity of its three-centuries-old Hispanic villages and its 19 Indian pueblos, some of which have been occupied continuously for close to 1,000 years. Common to both Hispanic and Indian civilizations is a love of the land, a pride in the work of human hands, a philosophy of patience and tolerance and a cosmology in which the virtues of family, community and religion are far more important than material things.

Suddenly, however, New Mexico is changing very fast and growing—a 27-per-cent population increase in the past decade alone. Possessing a panoply of energy resources that includes America's richest uranium veins as well as coal, oil, gas and geothermal springs, the state has been the scene of rapid industrialization since the energy crisis of 1974. Its land is also rich in copper, molybdenum, gold, potash and other riches, and its social structure lacks much in the way of labor legislation or unions. Thus New Mexico has become highly attractive to snowbelt industrialists seeking to relocate in more favorable climes.

New Mexico has also come of age on the American social scene. In a recent story, *Esquire*, authoritative arbiter of what is and is not hip and stylish in the U.S., declared Santa Fe to be America's "Right Place to Live." Thousands of well-heeled Texans, Southern Californians and New Yorkers, not to mention Canadians and Europeans, apparently agree, and are pouring into northern New Mexico at an escalating rate. "Pack your bags!" urged *Esquire*'s reporter. "The word is spreading... Santa Fe—pass it on." Many Hispanics and Indians, who once made up the majority of the state's population but now account for less than 50 per cent of its 1.3 million people, would rather that the word not be spread. They see their cultures threatened, their land and water being stolen from under them and pollution beginning to run rampant.

Although real estate values have shot up, making a Santa Fe home purchased a decade ago for $35,000 worth 10 times that today, many Anglos who arrived back then are also less than enthusiastic about the way things are changing. Ever since the likes of novelist D.H. Lawrence and painter Georgia O'Keefe made New Mexico home in the 1920s, the state has been a magnet for creative people. In Santa Fe, Taos and points in between, a growing community of artists, writers, photographers, dancers, musicians and crafts people of all kinds continues to generate an electric cultural atmosphere. But as New Mexico has become trendy—with the Duke and Duchess of Bedford, Elizabeth Taylor and Neil Simon making homes or visiting frequently—it has also become a mecca for burned-out stockbrokers and investment bankers, ersatz artists trying to ride the coattails of celebrated ones, drug, sex and religious cultists of various descriptions and affluent young people searching for little more than the latest

River dry from drought and diversion; Vigil: grotesque


ORIGINAL
INDIA EXPORT
Introducing
The Legendary Gin
of Sgt. Major Malcolm Dewitt
Pickles.
The Story Behind It May Appeal To
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India. 1873. A land of unrelenting sun, endless marches and legendary men.
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Pickles, according to our legend, marched his dust-choked column of sweating, suffering men on double drill and no canteen. They swore at him on marches. They swore by him in battles. And after, where the wind bends the palms, they shared a tall, cool gin at their ease.
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social scene. "Now newcomers don't even realize that they are coming to a different part of the country with a different culture," observes Rudolfo Anaya, an associate professor at the University of New Mexico. "They just want to impose their values on us."

Those who have lived in New Mexico any length of time are increasingly concerned that its magical environment is being supplanted by outrageous housing costs, traffic jams and a tightening of the spigots on water, the lifeblood of an area geologically designated as semidesert. When it comes right

JULIE O'CONNOR/IMPACT FEATURES

Water boss Reynolds: chicaneries

down to it, the politics of development in New Mexico are virtually synonymous with the politics of water. The shortage of water is the primary factor separating developers from their dream of doubling Santa Fe's population of 50,000, where land with water rights commands 4,000 to 5,000 per cent higher prices than land without. "You just don't expect people in this state to be rational when it comes to water rights," says Steve Reynolds, the state engineer of New Mexico who is popularly known as the "water boss." Considered a property right in New Mexico, water is a far more complex commodity than it appears. Title to the land does not necessarily mean the right to the water on it, and even the question of first ownership is often clouded—Anglo speculators have often been able to register claims to land Mexican families had lived on but never formally obtained title to. Water rights are a constant source of heated argument in New Mexican politics, and Reynolds admits that profound changes may lie ahead for the small Hispanic and Indian farmers who currently use about 40 per cent of the state's water supply to irrigate their subsistence fields. "The water supply is fixed, so the solution must come in

Vestiges of a now-dead village

Indian jewelry mart at Santa Fe Plaza

changing the pattern of use," says Reynolds, referring to the state's development plans that call for a population of three million by the end of the century.

Hispanic farmers, however, contend that "changing the pattern of use" is just a euphemism for diverting water from their irrigation ditches to serve the interests of mining, manufacturing, large-scale ranching, land development and tourism. Says Ike De Vargas, the manager of a health clinic in Rio Arriba, one of the poorest counties in the U.S.: "The history of northern New Mexico is a history of Anglos stealing land and water from Chicanos. The developers know that if they get the water rights, they get the land, because the land is valueless without water to make it productive." Violent confrontations over land and water are not infrequent; the intensity of the battle for control of the land has ebbed and flowed but there has always been what De Vargas calls "a little guerrilla activity," meaning occasional shooting incidents, the tearing down of fences and the destruction of property.

Currently, a major confrontation is shaping up between the Velasquez family and rancher Bill Mundy whose land holdings include 200 acres the Velasquezes claim is theirs. Mundy is seeking to build a ski resort in the mountains above Tierra Amarilla, but needs control of the irrigation ditches that run across the Velasquez land to supply the resort with water and to make artificial snow. Sources close to the Velasquez family contend that after failing in various chicaneries to obtain title to the land, Mundy made a deal with the elder Velasquez's lawyers for a "life estate," meaning that after their client's death, Mundy would be able to acquire the land. When the parents died, however, the children resisted eviction with guns

PHOTOGRAPHY BY JULIE O'CONNOR / IMPACT FEATURES

Rio Arriba clinic manager De Vargas

and insisted that only the lawyers and not the senior family members had agreed to the life estate. The issue is once again in the courts, and it is felt that the judgment will influence the outcome of current land struggles throughout the area.

"The survival of the little Spanish villages depends on access to water," says Larry Frank, an art and antiquities dealer from the mountaintop village of Arroyo Hondo. Frank argues that there is more at stake than simply a moral obligation to prevent the poor from becoming dispossessed and further impoverished. "When the Spanish village dies, everything that makes the way of life here so special dies with it. Development has already taken over Santa Fe and Taos," Frank argues. "Beautiful villages have been turned into string towns. Now all that's left is these mountain villages, and it's a fight to save them." Frank speaks ominously of the multitude of environmental dangers facing New Mexico—mining, with its voracious water consumption and accompanying pollution, radioactive waste from uranium mining and plans to store nuclear waste in the empty reaches of the southern part of the state. A program is now under study to begin strip-mining coal close to the rim of Chaco Canyon, which Frank's wife, Alyce, describes as "the most important prehistoric site in the U.S."

Efforts to save Chaco Canyon and the artifacts of the highly advanced cliff-dwelling Pueblo cities there have run into a double barrier in Ronald Reagan's Washington: the department of the interior, headed by James Watt, whom environmentalists consider to be public enemy number 1, not only controls the Bureau of Land Management, which is the agency putting forth the plan for mining near Chaco, but also oversees the Bureau of Indian Affairs, where opposition to Chaco development is reportedly being silenced.

While industrialization of Chaco Canyon is still in the discussion stages, it is already happening at other sites sacred to native Americans. "Imagine having to listen to a jackhammer going constantly while you were in church," says José Lucero, a Santa Clara Indian, of the noise from a geothermal drilling rig recently erected in the Jemez Mountains. The whole range is considered to be sacred by the Pueblo tribes, and their protests have temporarily succeeded in halting a $65-million power project. "The white man moved the Indian out to what they thought were wastelands in the southwest," says Lucero, "but now it turns out that the greatest energy resources in the country are on land they thought was empty. We're still just a thorn in their sides, and the issue is how to get rid of us."

Indian leaders are aware that great profits can be made by allowing exploitation of resources they control. Even in the Taos Pueblo, considered to be the most conservative and traditional of the

19 New Mexican pueblos, copies of *The Wall Street Journal* sit on the desks of tribal officials. Yet there is still great reticence to give up any measure of control of the land. "The white man is always talking about progress," says James Lujan, one resident of the Taos Pueblo. "But he never looks over his shoulder at the terrible things his progress is creating."

In response, developers argue that they are bringing new life to New Mexico's economy and that Indians and Hispanics are enjoying greater prosperity as a result. "Look at the prices of Indian jewelry and you won't say these people are being exploited," is a common refrain echoed by Santa Fe real estate moguls. Yet the fact is that 53.6 per cent of New Mexico Indians still live below the poverty line, and the health care and other social services available to them are generally acknowledged to be woefully inadequate. R.C. Gorman, a successful Navajo painter from Taos, believes that a balanced view of development and change is needed. "If they make the town ugly with Holiday Inns and McDonald's, that's not the worst thing imaginable. But certain things cannot change. You can't allow anyone to go mining a sacred mountain."

Whatever its problems with water, traffic, and pollution, northern New Mexico still looks like a rustic haven to the average big-city dweller, yet the region's future appears to be very much in doubt and a tense confrontation looms. Rudolfo Anaya talks of the need for Chicanos and Indians to "go underground" to protect their culture. José Lucero says that if the court system can't defend Indians' rights, more drastic measures will have to be taken. Farmer Cruz Aguilar has been thinking a lot lately about how Castro started off with only a handful of men and succeeded in making a revolution. John Nichols, a novelist who has lived in Taos for 12 years, believes much has been ruined by development. "You have the same grotesque kinds of oppression and destruction of people's culture here that you have everywhere, but here it's so much more out in the open. The town's so small and everyone knows each other. You might bump into the very guy who's trying to steal your water while walking across the plaza."

In *If Mountains Die*, a memoir of his experiences in Taos, Nichols reflected the feelings of many longtime residents of northern New Mexico:

If these mountains die,
where will our imaginations
wander? . . .
And if the long-time people of this
wonderful country are
carelessly squandered by Progress,
who will guide us to a better
world?

PROFILE: DEBBIE BRILL

The loneliness of the bionic mother

By Jane O'Hara

It is well past midnight in the one-night-stand land of indoor track-and-field meets. Debbie Brill, Canada's foremost high jumper, takes off two pairs of warm-up pants and reveals the legs that have inspired sports columnists across the land and have been genetically coded to leap tall buildings in a single bound. Although it is the final event of the night at Ottawa's Civic Centre, many of the 8,000 spectators have stuck around to see Brill. Three weeks earlier, in January, she had leapt to a world indoor record of 1.99 m, a feat made all the more astounding by the addition of one spectator on the infield, Brill's five-month-old son, Neil Bogart Ray.

ATHLETE INFORMATION BUREAU

Brill with her baby: 'She loves being the dark horse'

While her coach, Lionel Pugh, looks on, the bionic mother prepares to jump. She stands perfectly still, then leans down and stares at the bar, like a baseball pitcher trying to pick up the curveball sign from the catcher. She stands upright again, flicks her hair back from her pretty, fine-boned face and begins to shake out her supple thighs. A fierce look comes into her eyes, soon to be displaced by an almost meditative calm, for to defy gravity requires a perfect balance of ironclad control and unfettered flight. Ready now, Brill begins a dainty tango of tiny steps and then rushes the bar with long, lean strides, her angular arms slicing the air like scythes. As she passes Pugh, he mutters, "Debbie had great boobs when she was pregnant." Unaware of the comment, Brill hits her mark and converts her forward speed into a vertical force, pushing down, springing up and into her trademark backward bend with the speed of a trout flipping upstream. Tonight, however, Brill is off and misses three times at 1.93 m. After banging her fists, she slowly gets back into her track suit and sits on the sidelines, only to watch a 21-year-old Los Angeles girl jump two metres and shatter her briefly held record. Brill smiles gaily, ever the good sport, and when a microphone is pushed in her face for comment, she says, "I'll be back." When the reporter is gone, however, and Brill is left with the frustration she has known before, she simply lowers her head and mutters, "Goddammit."

At 29, "Brillo," as she is known to her friends, has been high jumping internationally for 14 years, a servitude to amateur sport almost unheard of among North American athletes. But then, doing the unexpected has been a hallmark of Brill's career. In the 1972 Munich and 1976 Montreal Olympics, when the eyes of Canada were upon her as a medal contender, she bombed explosively. "She couldn't deal with the pressure of winning when she was expected to. She was getting the reputation of someone who could only jump in her backyard," says Pugh. In 1979, however, she fooled the odds-makers again by winning the World Cup in Montreal's Olympic Stadium with a jump of 1.96 m, establishing a Commonwealth record. Given her reputation for unpredictability, it came as no surprise to insiders when,

Outline Exercise (due by March 5)

1 LA Times (3/2/87):"Cheech's '55 Chevy Convertible Is on the Block in East LA"

1.1 Text (part 1)

by Gary Libman (Los Angeles Times, part V, p 1, March 2, 1987).======

Jaime Martinez walked around and around the shiny 1955 Chevrolet, studying the coral and ivory convertible as if in disbelief.

"If they gave me the choice of a 1987 Porsche turbo or this one," the Inglewood engineering student finally said, "I'd take this one."

Martinez's opinion reflected the enthusiasm the 32-year-old car has generated since Latino entertainer Cheech ("Born in East L.A.") Marin donated it to Santa Marta Hospital in East Los Angeles several months ago.

Martinez saw the car in the Eagle rock Plaza shopping mall, where the hospital displayed it to sell $2 tickets for a May 21 raffle. The hospital hopes to raise $80,000 on the car to benefit a new early breast-cancer detection center. Thus far, volunteers have sold $5,000 in tickets.

Marin, 40, of the team of Cheech and Chong, lives in Malibu, but says donating the car made him feel at home in East Los Angeles for the first time.

Interviewed at his Sherman Oaks production company office, the comedian said that despite the title of his hit video and although his parents are of Mexican descent, he grew up in a predominantly black downtown Los Angeles neighborhood and moved at age 10 to a mixed area in Granada Hills.

"Only English was spoken in our house," he said. "My parents would speak Spanish with my grandparents when they didn't want me to understand."

Even after he drove the car through scenes on Soto Street and Whittier Boulevard in "Born in East L.A.," parodying Bruce Springsteen's "Born in the U.S.A.," Marin said he felt no relationship with East Los Angeles.

The feeling changed when he visited the 110-bed Santa Marta Hospital twice and appeared with the car at a park, a shopping center and a restaurant.

"It led me to get involved," said Marin, who recently relearned Spanish and speaks in with his daughter, 7 and son, 1.

Chicano Resource Center
Lib. 220

Francisco García-Ayvens
773-2537/2633

Chicano Identity

Kathaleen Bruce Bastillos → "I'm a mexican. What are you?"
"I don't know. But when I grow up, I want to be a boy scout." AP/2/A45

AP
2
N31 "Mexicans Amer. Children." R. Rodriguez Rampersad
273:12-14 Jl '86 (Am Sch. 55:161-177 Spr '86

AP
2
V58 Success in U.S., Struggle in Land of his Roots."
R. Rodriguez. U.S. News World Rep 99:41 Ag 19 '85

AP
2
T37 "Citizens in all but name." D. Gonzalez. Time
126:52 Jl 8 '85 (OWN)

G
1/86 "Urban Mexican Amer." D.D. Arreola Geol. Mag
Focus 34:7-11 Ja/F '84 N/A

BX 801 A52 / E 171 A5

"Between two worlds [review of Hunger of memory R. Rodriguez] J. W. Donohue. America 146:403-4 my 22 '82

QH 1 N13

"Low & slow, wet & dear [low riders]" w. bibl (p. 76) il Nat Hist. 91:28-39 Ag. '82 maybe (?)

AB 5 M2

A proud society fights for its life [effects of development on native cultures in W. Mexico] D. Burstein. il Mosaic. 95:12+ mr 15 '82

(Doe) US HE 23.12

Understanding Mexican Amer. Cult.: a training prog." T.T. Lasater & F.F. Montalvo bibl f. il Child Today 11:23-5+ my/je 82

AP 2 N31

Aria: a memoir of a bilingual childhood [except the achievement of desire] R. Rodriguez. Am Sch. 50:25-42 Wint. '80/81

Hunger of Memory Richard Rodriguez

Godine 1375

"I know more about their problems and it's like coming home."

"There's a whole side of East Los Angeles that's never been portrayed. There's very settled family areas to raise your kids. There's gangs and drugs and everything, but those are everywhere . . .

1.2 Text (part 2)

"There should be a lot of pride in the community because it has as much history as any part of Los Angeles.

"I see these young people with kids and imagine my grandparents and how they were and it's a nice sense of continuity."

Many keepers of that continuity have been born at Santa Marta since it opened in tow houses in 1924 as a 10-bed maternity hospital. The current beige three-story building was built on the same site in 1970.

In the lobby, where La Opinion and Noticias del Mundo are sold at the front desk, most patients who come in are from the surrounding neighborhood.

Marin seldom visited the neighborhood in previous years. He kept the Chevrolet, a gift from his former wife, in his two-car Malibu garage for 10 years, putting the top down occasionally to take his family for a drive along the coast.

"Seeing the car would make people happy," he said. "People used to give me the thumbs up sign. . . . Who wouldn't like to get one of them? With the top down, the radio going, it like California dreaming."

{SEA-SALT RUST}

When Marin's new wife, Patti, wanted to put her car in the garage, Marin worried that outside sea salt would rust his everyday 1985 Mercedes or the Chevrolet.

His wife suggested he donate the car to charity. Marin recalled a newspaper story he had read about Santa Marta and the hospital gladly accepted the car, which is worth between $12,000 and $15,000, according to Rick Cole Auctions in North Hollywood, a large seller of collector's autos.

On a recent visit to the hospital, Marin was mobbed by patients and staff, including the white-robed Catholic Daughters of St. Joseph who run the hospital.

A mother of six asked Marin to talk to her teen-age son who

used drugs. Although the comedian made several movies that treated drugs humorously, he advised the youth to avoid narcotics.

{'NEVER THAT STONED OUT'}

"Because I portrayed a stoned-out character doesn't mean that I am, and I never really was the stoned out," he said.

"Those (movies) were in order to show that there's a funny side, too, but I don't think there's a funny side anymore. The destructive side has been shown.

"There's a world of difference between hippies passing a joint and being able to cop crack in any city in the U.S."

The mother of the teen-ager was one of a horde of neighborhood volunteers who sold raffle tickets.

1.3 Text (part 3)

At the Eagle Rock Plaza, Martinez said he knew what he would do if he won the raffle.

"The first place I'd take this car is down Whitier Boulevard in East Los Angeles," he said. "It's a cruising car. As long as I can remember when I was small in the '60s, Whittier Boulevard was Los Angeles."

Martinez said he had watched Cheech and Chong since grade school.

"Cheech is all right," he said. "When I was growing up, they used to stereotype Mexicans like the Frito Bandito in commercials. At the same time I'd see Cheech and his "cholo" (neighborhood tough) image. I didn't mind at all. He was the only one I let sort of joke about our background. Everyone else (who portrayed a stereotype), I've got something (critical) to say."

Changing World: Latinos and the Media

LATime 4/24/87 PART II p. 13

By FRANK del OLMO

During my years at The Times I have often heard from Latino activists complaining about the kind of coverage that ethnic minorities and minority-related issues get in the news media.

In honesty, I often find the complaints unjustified. People misread straightforward news reports and conclude that journalists are biased against them simply because reporters don't take their views on some controversial subjects. But there have been times when I've read news clippings that were unbalanced, incomplete or just sensationalistic. Not the kind of journalism that I want to be associated with.

But I *am* associated with it by the very nature of my work. As a professional journalist, I am acutely aware of the strengths and weaknesses of my craft. While I take considerable pride in our achievements, I must answer for our shortcomings, too. And one area in which we need to improve is how we report on Latinos and other minority groups.

Almost 20 years ago the Kerner Commission's report on the urban rioting of the 1960s placed part of the blame on the news media, which had ignored America's ghettos until they exploded. As a result of that criticism, many news executives pledged to help integrate the nation's newsrooms. Yet journalism remains a highly segregated profession; only about 8% of the professionals working for newspapers are members of minorities, while 18% of the nation's population is minority.

On the whole, I would argue that the news media are covering the problems and aspirations of this nation's minorities better than they did before the 1960s. But I worry that, with the minority population growing and the issues becoming more subtle and complicated (equal economic opportunity as opposed to racial segregation, for example), we risk falling behind again.

I make no secret of my concern to colleagues in the news business. But when I talk to Latino activists on the subject, I offer what must seem like very conservative advice. I urge them to try to understand the inner workings of the media, and to cooperate with reporters and editors rather than criticizing them. I also advise against confrontation-style tactics, such as boycotts, which can be counterproductive.

If the news media are going to change, the most effective pressure for change will come from inside the profession, among journalists themselves, rather than from outside pressure groups. And the best way to make the news media more sensitive to minority groups is to have more Latinos and other minority people in the newsroom.

When more Latinos, blacks and other minorities are writing and reporting the news, or making decisions about what will be covered as news, there will be a better balance in the reporting about minority communities. Controversial stories about gangs, illegal aliens, drugs, welfare and the like will still be written and broadcast, because these issues are too important to be ignored. But they will be balanced by positive stories, the kinds of upbeat features that now are sometimes overlooked.

What prompts these musings is the fact that this week hundreds of Latino journalists from across the nation are in Los Angeles to participate in the annual conference organized by the California Chicano News Media Assn. and the National Assn. of Hispanic Journalists. A key topic will be getting the media to hire more Latinos, and improving the career opportunities for those already in the field.

But while those meetings are going on, a group of local activists, calling themselves the National Hispanic Media Coalition, are using the occasion to publicize their complaint against television station KCBS, which, they say, has a poor record in the hiring and promoting of minorities. They expressed their feelings by holding a demonstration outside the station.

As noted above, these '60s-style protest tactics are not that useful. On the other hand, a cynic could argue that conferences where minority participation in the news media is discussed in moderate, measured tones aren't doing that much good, either. But I persist in believing that pushing from the inside is preferable, not just because it is more likely to succeed but also because outside pressure on the media jeopardizes freedom of the press.

After all, if angry Latinos pressure a TV station one day, the shoe could easily be on the other foot the next day. This week, for example, the news department at KNBC is getting lots of angry phone calls from English-speaking viewers who don't like the fact that its series on a new immigration law is being broadcast in Spanish as well as in English. KNBC refused to change the decision to broadcast in two languages, to its credit. It can do that because the First Amendment guarantees the news media's independence. And that independence is the source of some of the media's finest achievements. It is what allows reporters to challenge government authority, or society's conventional wisdom, when necessary.

Editorial independence does not mean that the news media can ignore criticism, of course. If they do a poor job, we must be willing to listen to protests. And if the criticism is valid, we must be willing to change. But there is enough good sense in this profession to make those changes without outside pressure.

Of all people, journalists know that freedom of the press carries with it responsibilities. One of them is a duty to be fair and balanced in our work, and when it comes to minorities in U.S. society, we still fall short on both counts. That will change when American newsrooms better reflect American society. We're working on it.

Frank del Olmo is a Times editorial writer.

ly Finally Make Congress See Red?

have put the heat on. Some are quite are off-the-wall leftists who want licy to fail whenever it is asserted.

ration season. On Saturday there will rle "mobilization" march in Washing- oedience demonstration at CIA head- at quasi-totalitarian duo of Amy and hat they can deny a U.S. government ie right to interview prospective em- iversity (the University of Massachu- Amy does not even attend.

ing the demonstrations? Because labor sked to participate, John Joyce, the cklayers Union and the chairman of cutive Council Defense Committee, tter. Joyce's conclusion: While there groups involved, the steering committee show is heavily influenced by radical ions that go beyond being against contras and onto open support of the ndinista government and the com- El Salvador, as well as the Palestine ion.

Such demonstrations should receive wide publicity. Even with an attempt to put a moderate face on it, the truth will emerge. People who are against American interests in the world are also vigorously against any American assertion of will in Nicaragua.

Sometimes in politics you have to know who all the players are before forming an opinion. It is political legend that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." In this case patriotic Americans, including those opposing aid to the contras, should be asking, "Is the friend of my adversary my friend?"

When the demonstrators take their masks off and start denouncing American imperialism, when we see Amy and Abbie trash the CIA for "crimes" in Central America, when we know that pro-Soviet groups are already savoring victory in Congress, that should help tell Americans what a part of the controversy is really about.

In politics, opportunity comes in strange packages. Before this is over, the contras may be thanking Amy Carter and the radical left for bringing the reality of their case to the American public. Then perhaps even Congress will shake its isolationist torpor and listen.

Ben Wattenberg is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

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An Outline

1 Introduction

1.1 The Adored Automobile: A '55 Chevy over an '87 Turbo Porsche

1.2 The Event: Raffling the auto for Santa Marta Hospital in East L.A.

1.3 The Donor: Cheech Marin

1.3.1. Cheech and Chong

1.3.2. Not Raised in East L.A.

1.3.2.1. "Only English was Spoken in our house . . . "

1.3.2.2. "Born in East L.A." video

1.3.2.3. No personal relationship w/ East L.A. until Santa Marta

1.3.2.4. An unpublicized portrait of East L.A.

1.3.2.4.1. Family

1.3.2.4.2. Continuity

2 The Hospital: Part of the surrounding Mexican Community

3 The Car & The Hospital

3.1 A fun car that lost its parking spot

3.2 Santa Marta gains a car

4 Cheech & the Hospital

4.1 The reaction of the hospital to its visitor

4.2 Cheech's "Drug" Image & the "Real" picture

5 The Car, "Real L.A." & Cheech's "Cholo" Image

Joe Bustillos 962-0635

CHIC 305 -

Chicano Self-Image

My paper will deal with the subject of Chicano self-image. Starting from the perspective of my own "middle class" mexican parents rejection of the term "Chicano," through the exchange of Anglo & Mexican values, I hope to delineate the often subliminal tensions involved in maintaining a bi-cultural approach to life.

Joel:

Generally O.K. Hope you have bibliography on this topic.

Mexicano.
Chicano

unique term "Chicano" is preferred by many persons of Mexican descent." Alfredo Mirandé The Chicano Experience: An Alternative Perspective p. 241 (Footnote)

Labels values of the dominant culture ("host" culture) vs values of the minority culture (culture of origin).
Label - Values - Images memories -

(1) which is the term of self description
- Mexican
- Mexican-American
- Chicano
- Spanish descent
- Spanish Surname
- American
- Indian

(2) what do these terms mean to you - do they have meaning?

(3) the meaning of heritage
(4) what does it mean to be X?
(5) Childhood memories of being X - positive negative

Chicano Self Identity -

Where the term Chicano came from

"the ethnic label Chicano has many definitions. A strict colloquial usage is that it is a shortened form of Mexicano [illegible]" James D. Vigil
From Indians to Chicanos: A Sociocultural History
p. 1 (footnote)

"The term "Chicano" is used here to designate a person of Mexican descent living in the United States on a relatively permanent basis, regardless of place of birth or citizenship status. It has in the past had pejorative connotations in both Mexico & the United States, but it is being increasingly accepted as symbolic of positive identification w/ a unique ethnic heritage, especially by younger & more politically conscious persons. "Mexican-American," on the other hand, connotes middle-class respectability & a higher level of identification & integration into American society. Thus, while Chicano, Mexican-American, & Mexican are terms for those living on the United States side of the border have different connotations, they are derived by the same. This confusion & kinds is precisely why the

(1) - Name -

(2) - place & date & birth -

(3) - do you feel that your ethn

(4) do you feel that ~~understanding~~ your ethnic heritage is an important thing ~~that~~ every one who has ~~an~~ ethnic heritage should do?

(4) ~~Is it more important to you fit into the non-ethnic society than not~~. How important is it to you to fit into the non-ethnic culture or ~~fit~~ to environment? (Do you see a difference between your ethnic heritage & the surrounding culture?)

(5) Is it more important to fit into the surrounding culture than to be identified w/ your ethnic heritage less important - about the same - (do see any tension between your ethnic heritage & the surrounding culture?)

If you were to witness (did witness) an injustice being done.

(6) which ethnic label do you use to describe yourself?

(7) How strongly do you feel about that label or is it just a governmental formality?

(8) If you were to witness an injustice being done to a group & ___X___ (e.g. 2001 Swt Riot" June 1943) are your emotions any more aroused than if another group (Japanese Internment in WWII) is being "mistreated"?

Zwingli – Bast Ls. – Hyper-Label

essing, popularizing and exploiting the black American culture through new old stereotypes. Benson, of the hit TV show of the same name, is nothing more than a descendant of the old Negro stereotype of the black butler who runs plantation's big house. The kindly and benevolent master appears benign to servant, who triumphs through "helplessness" and "mischieviousness." As Benson is also kin to Br'er Rabbit.

In the same vein, when David Wolper presented Alex Haley's plantation nds to the American public under the title *Roots*, he was following the dition of Joel Chandler Harris introducing the Negro character Uncle Remus. he tale-spinning, congenial old father-figure. Alex Haley is the television-era le Remus with his "quaint stories of the old plantation."

If the American audience does not object to the way blacks are being treated media, then women and other minority groups can only expect similar ment. But this discrimination is felt by all of us—for we are all ultimately ictims of an electronic plantation mentality which filters out the real world turns its characters into caricatures.

nos and the Media

18

Gutiérrez

oad survey of changes in the media caused by the surge in the Latino lation shows much progress but also reveals lack of understanding by lishment news executives.

ptember 1541 a tremendous earthquake and storm devastated Guatemala in Central America. Not long after the disaster, an eight-page newssheet inted and distributed in Mexico City describing the Guatemalan destruc-

This newspaper, written by Juan Rodríguez and printed by Juan Pablos, is ently the first printed journalism in the Americas and even predates some newssheets in Europe. Thus, the 1541 Mexican news report of the Gua- lan disaster is the first newspaper journalism on the American continents. rm used by Rodríguez and Pablos to tell the public about the Guatemalan quake was to become a popular journalistic medium in colonial Latin ica. Called *hojas volantes* (bulletins), these pamphlets and broadside sheets ued at irregular intervals when ships arrived with news from other ports. ding to one historian, they carried lists of appointments, current events, vern ment orders but did not express opinions.

Félix Gutiérrez is head of mass communication at the School of Journalism at the University of Southern California. He is a frequent consultant, speaker, and writer on the subject of Latinos and the media and prepared this article especially for this book. He uses the term "Chicano" to signify people of Mexican descent living in the United States and the term "Latino" to refer to Spanish-speaking people in general.

"These primitive newssheets were the prototypes of newspapers," wrote journalism historian Al Hester of the University of Georgia in a 1972 paper. "They treated significant happenings and made the 'news' of them widely available . . ."

But despite the work of Hester and Latin American scholars who researched early news reporting, the contributions of Latinos in developing print journalism have been all but ignored by United States journalism historians. However, these early contributions by Latinos demonstrate that news reporting and communication media are activities that Latinos have been doing for a long time.

As surprising as the historical firsts of Latino journalism may be, even more surprising to most people is the rapid current and projected growth of the Latino population in the United States. It is this trend that makes Latinos and the media that affect them an important topic of discussion.

Latinos in the United States

Latinos are the fastest growing minority group in the United States and are projected to grow at an even faster rate through the 1980s. The U.S. Census Bureau, which admits that it undercounts Latinos, put the U.S. Latino population at nearly 15 million in 1980. However, other reliable estimates put the actual figure at between 25 and 27 million by counting the nearly 4 million residents of Puerto Rico and an estimated 6 to 8 million undocumented migrants from Latin America.

Because of a younger median age and larger family size, Latinos will someday pass Blacks as the nation's largest minority group; the only question is how soon. Latinos may earn the dubious honor of being the nation's largest minority group early in the next century. However, when continued immigration and possible amnesty for undocumented workers are taken into account, some government officials predict that it could happen as early as 1990.

Long stereotyped as a regional group found in large numbers only in the Southwest, Latinos are actually dispersed throughout the country, with large concentrations in the Midwest, Northeast, and South. The states of New York, New Jersey, and Illinois each have more Latino residents than do Arizona, Colorado, or New Mexico. The U.S. city with the largest Latino population is not Los Angeles, San Antonio, or Miami, it is New York City.

Despite an image as rural farmworkers, 86.5 percent of all Latinos live in metropolitan areas. Also, the percentage of Latino workforce employed in farm labor is lower than the percentage of the U.S. labor force so employed. And despite a stereotype that Latinos do not learn English, census surveys show that 78 percent of all Latinos report themselves as bilingual in Spanish and English.

In spite of their large numbers, dispersion across the country, urban residence, and bilingual abilities, Latinos still do not share equally in American life. The 1980 median family income for Latinos was $13,000—far below the U.S. average of $19,000. Only about 43 percent of Latinos twenty-five years of age or older have finished high school, compared to 65 percent of that age group in the total U.S. population. Other social indicators such as employment, health, and political representation continue to show Latinos below national norms.

The continued growth of the Latino population may improve their socioeconomic status during the last part of the twentieth century. As the Latino percentage of the U.S. population increases, the nation's political and economic institutions will have to respond.

Latinos can be described as a hardworking people who take their family and community responsibilities seriously. However, many confront a system that was designed to work against them when they try to improve their lives. Communication media are among the many "systems" that Latinos confront in working to improve their lives in the United States. Although media are not usually considered a "bread and butter" issue, as are law enforcement, housing, health care, employment, and education, the issues involving media are gaining greater prominence among Latino activists in the 1980s.

This growing awareness of the importance of communication media has developed partly out of an understanding of the role played by media in shaping the collective consciousness of the public mind. It has also grown out of the need to develop communicators and communication media to serve Latino communities. Latino dealings with media systems have generally taken place on three levels. Each level represents a different media subsystem with which Latinos must deal. These three subsystems can be broadly designated as: (1) Anglo media, (2) Spanish-language media, and (3) bilingual/bicultural media.

Anglo Media

Anglo media can be described as English-language communication media directed at the mass audience of the United States. Under this group would fall most television stations, daily newspapers, magazines, and motion pictures. These media are identified by the fact that their primary audience is essentially non-Latino. Therefore, their role in relation to the Latino communities is essentially to explain or portray Latinos to a predominantly Anglo audience.

The national press called Chicanos (Latinos of Mexican descent) the "invisible minority" and "the minority nobody knows" when it suddenly "discovered" Chicanos in the late 1960s. However, much of the invisibility and ignorance was in the minds of the writers and editors. This is because consistent coverage of Chicanos and other Latinos in the national media was virtually nonexistent in the first seven decades of the twentieth century. A survey of magazine citations in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* from 1890 to 1970 reveals very few articles about Latinos in the United States. Articles that were listed often had a crisis or negative overtone. That is, they were written during periods when Mexican labor or immigration impacted national policy or when Latinos were involved in civil strife.

Local coverage apparently wasn't much better. One researcher noted that pictures of Chicana brides weren't even printed in El Paso newspapers until the 1950s; this in a town that was over half Chicano. Speaking to a 1969 media conference in San Antonio, veteran *Los Angeles Times* reporter Rubén Salazar said, "The Mexican American beat in the past was nonexistent. . . . Before the recent racial turmoil, Mexican Americans were something that vaguely were

there but nothing which warranted comprehensive coverage—unless it concerned, in my opinion, such badly reported stories as the Pachuco race riots in Los Angeles in the early 1940s, or more recently, the Bracero program's effect on Mexican Americans."

Salazar also predicted that Anglo news media would not find the Chicano community easy to cover. "The media, having ignored the Mexican Americans for so long, but now willing to report them, seem impatient about the complexities of the story," Salazar continued. "It's as if the media, having finally discovered the Mexican American, is not amused that under that serape and sombrero is a complex Chicano instead of a potential Gringo."

Salazar's analysis was based on his long experience as a reporter, war correspondent, and bureau chief. It was also supported by the news media's bumbling efforts to "discover" the barrio during the late 1960s. Stories were often inaccurate and nearly always revealed more of the writers' own stereotypes than the characteristics of the people about whom they tried to write.

For instance, a *Time* magazine reporter riding through East Los Angeles in 1967 saw mostly "tawdry taco joints and rollicking cantinas," smelled "the reek of cheap wine [and] . . . the fumes of frying tortillas," and heard "the machine gun patter of slang Spanish." Such slanted reporting did little to promote intergroup understanding; rather, it reinforced the prejudices of many in the magazine's audience.

One reason for such biased and inaccurate reporting was that few Latinos worked as reporters and editors on Anglo publications during that period. Although many broadcasters and publications made affirmative efforts to hire Latinos in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the numbers hired were far below fair representation of the population. The commitment often did not extend beyond hiring a few token staffers and sometimes did not continue to the promotion and upgrading of Latino employees.

By 1980 Latinos comprised only slightly more than one percent of the editorial workers on the nation's general circulation daily newspapers. Broadcast representation was better, primarily because of federal regulation of minority employment on radio and television stations in the 1970s. The Reagan administration relaxed and then proposed the elimination of rules requiring stations to report the number of minority employees in 1981, so it is not certain that progress in broadcast employment will continue through the 1980s. Furthermore, many Latinos hired earlier were concentrated in lower-level positions or on-air jobs with high public visibility. A 1977 federal study of minority employment in broadcasting was appropriately titled "Window Dressing on the Set" to underscore the absence of minorities in policy-making positions and top management.

Coverage of Latinos in Anglo media has increased with the population growth. But news reporters still tend to place too much emphasis on stories featuring "problem people"—Latinos either causing or beset by problems, such as undocumented residents, youth gangs, or recent arrivals. Other stories often

have a "zoo appeal" by featuring Latinos on national holidays, celebrating cultural fiestas, or in their native costumes. While more examples of accurate news reporting can be found now than in earlier periods, the media's preoccupation with "problem people" and "zoo stories" ignores many of the important daily happenings in the Latino community.

As the once "invisible minority" began to gain more visibility in the news media, reporters also began to do their jobs more effectively and conscientiously. Reporters moved away from depending only on the comfortable law-enforcement, special-service agency, and government sources and began to report on Latinos from the perspective of the people they were writing about. Often the impetus for more balanced and objective reporting was provided by Latino reporters such as Frank del Olmo of the *Los Angeles Times*, Helga Silva of the *Miami News*, or Norma Sosa of the *Chicago Sun-Times*. Anglo reporters also followed up the Latino story with better reporting. In 1980, *New York Times* reporter John Crewdson won the prestigious Pulitzer Prize for his reporting on illegal immigration. The same year the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner's* Merle Wolin won acclaim for her series "Sweatshop," in which she posed as an undocumented worker in the Los Angeles garment district.

Anglo news media also began looking for creative ways to reach out to the Latino audience in the early 1980s, often with the hope of increasing the size of their audience and advertising revenue. The *Chicago Sun-Times* and *Arizona Republic* began printing sections in Spanish in 1981, following the general pattern of the *Miami Herald* (which began a Spanish daily edition in 1976). The NBC television stations in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles simulcast a Spanish translation of their late-night newscast on local Spanish-language radio stations. The Gannett Corporation, the nation's largest newspaper chain, commissioned a comprehensive study of Latino media habits and attitudes in Southwestern cities in 1980 and bought New York's Spanish-language daily, *El Diario-La Prensa*, in 1981.

But coverage and employment of Latinos in the news media constitute only one side of the issues Latinos confront in dealing with Anglo media. In dealing with Anglo entertainment media, another range of issues has emerged for Latinos.

Novelists, short story writers, movie makers, and television producers have long delighted in portraying Latinos in stereotyped roles revolving around the Latin lover, the bandit, the faithful servant, the mustachioed overweight slob, the mamacita, and the woman with dark eyes, a low-cut blouse, and loose morals. These common stereotypes are nothing new. Neither is Latino reaction against them.

In 1911 *La Crônica*, a Spanish-language newspaper in Laredo, Texas, waged a hard-fought campaign against stereotyping of Mexicans and Native Americans in the cowboy movies then just emerging. The editor complained that Mexicans and Native Americans were almost always cast as "villains and cowards" and argued that Mexicans were the "most defamed in these sensational American films."

These negative stereotypes and other Latino caricatures continued in movies and television during the twentieth century. Even when Mexicans and Chicanos are portrayed as lead characters, the role has often been stereotyped or distorted. Thus, Spencer Tracy's part in "Tortilla Flat," Wallace Beery's portrayal of Pancho Villa, Marlon Brando's lead in "Viva Zapata," and Valerie Harper's role in "Freebie and the Bean" reveal more of the actors' and actresses' preconceptions than the character of the people they are trying to portray.

Latino actors and actresses found themselves similarly typecast in stereotyped roles when they sought work in Hollywood, although there has been some improvement since 1970. Ricardo Montalban, who signed with MGM in the 1940s, has written that he was condemned to "the bondage of 'Latin-lover' roles" early in his career. Rita Moreno, who won an Oscar for her part in "West Side Story" in the early 1960s, didn't make another movie for seven years because she refused to play roles as the "Latin spitfire," the only role type-casting directors would offer her.

The coming of television in the 1950s added another weapon to the arsenal of the media barons. The most popular situation comedy of the period, "I Love Lucy," regularly made fun of Desi Arnaz's supposed inability to speak unaccented English and his lapses into fast-paced Spanish when Lucille Ball made him angry. Reruns of the program were still prime-time fare in many major metropolitan areas in the late 1970s. Other early stereotyped characters included

Frank, the Chicano gardener on "Father Knows Best"; Pepino, the farmhand on "The Real McCoys"; Sergeant Garcia, the bumbling soldier on "Zorro"; and most of the secondary characters in "The Flying Nun."

The adult westerns of the late 1950s and early 1960s ushered in a recycling of the Latino villains and loose women from earlier periods. And comedians, such as Bill Dana's "José Jimenez," continued to poke fun at the way Latinos were supposed to think, talk, and live. The situation on television became so bad that the Mexican consul in Los Angeles officially protested to the NBC network in 1966.

The civil disorders of the late 1960s awakened much of Hollywood to the harmful social and psychological effects of stereotyped portrayals of Blacks. But the benefits of this new awareness did not result in accurate or dignified portrayals of Latinos. In a widely circulated 1969 article, a Chicano sociologist analyzed the racism behind portrayals of Latinos in advertising, including the corn-chip-stealing "Frito Bandito."

In 1970 two Chicano media activists issued a "Brown Position Paper" that charged the electronic media had made the Chicano "The White Man's New Nigger." "The greater openness of the media to the Black community spells a greater inaccessibility for the Chicano to the media," their report stated. "In providing access to the Black, the mass media believes itself to be free of prejudice or discrimination when, in effect, it is merely changing the emphasis from one group to another."

Latino media activist groups, such as the National Mexican American Anti-Defamation Committee, the National Chicano Media Council, Justicia, and Nosotros moved against advertising, television, and motion pictures on a national scale in the early 1970s. Their efforts were only partially rewarded. Television and movies increased the visibility of Latino characters in the 1970s, but these roles are often stereotyped by social class. Latinos portrayed as dignified, admirable characters are most often those with middle-class credentials, such as teachers, police officers, social workers, or other professional positions. Lower-class Latinos, particularly young people, are commonly portrayed as humorous characters or members of the underworld or as unable to deal with their own problems without assistance from Anglos.

The Anglo entertainment media continued to stereotype Latino characters in the 1970s and early 1980s. Particularly offensive to Latinos were the NBC comedy series "Chico and the Man" and movies focusing on gangs or illegal immigrants, such as *Boulevard Nights, Walk Proud,* and *Borderline.* Latino producers, directors, and writers continued to have difficulties finding backers for their story ideas. One breakthrough came in 1981 when Universal released the movie version of the play *Zoot Suit,* directed and written by Luís Valdez.

By the 1980s Latinos were no longer the "invisible minority" in the Anglo media. But it was also clear that more media attention did not automatically equal better coverage and understanding. And, while there were more examples of balanced coverage and accurate portrayals than before, one-sided reporting and negative stereotypes still permeated much media treatment of Latinos.

Although inaccurate and stereotyped coverage cheat the predominantly Anglo audience of such media from fully appreciating Latinos, it is doubtful that Latinos will ever attain full and accurate treatment from Anglo media. One reason is that Anglo media are primarily interested in attracting a non-Latino audience and apparently feel they can do so by offering shallow reporting and stereotypic portrayals.

Spanish-Language Media

Although Latinos are a secondary audience for Anglo media, they are the primary audience for the growing complement of Spanish-language print and broadcast media in the United States. The Spanish-language media have a long history in the United States, predating both the Black and Native American press by about two decades.

The first U.S. Spanish-language newspaper, *El Misisipí,* was a bilingual four-page periodical begun in New Orleans in 1808. Other newspapers were started in New Mexico and Texas prior to the conquest of the territories by the United States in 1848. After the Yankee takeover of the Southwest, some Anglo newspaper publishers began printing a few pages of Spanish news, often to qualify for government printing subsidies for printing public notices in Spanish. Early Southwestern newspapers before and after the conquest include *La Gaceta de Texas* (1813), Santa Fe's *El Crepúsculo de la Libertad* (1834), Los Angeles's *La Estrella* (1851), and San Antonio's *El Bejareño* (1855).

These early Spanish-language newspapers regularly published jokes, short stories, poetry, and local commentary in addition to news coverage. News was generated out of local, national, and international news sources, with editors freely borrowing items from each other's newspapers. During the 1890s Spanish-language newspapers in New Mexico organized the Spanish American Associated Press to increase their viability as a force in the territory.

Since most early newspapers were dependent on a combination of government subsidies and advertising from Anglo merchants, they cannot be described as solely an activist press. However, it is possible to note periods and issues in which they spoke on behalf of their people against the Anglo power structure. Many of their issues are similar to those being raised by Latino activists today.

For instance, in 1855 *El Bejareño* called for bilingual education for Chicano children. In the 1870s Los Angeles's *La Crónica* argued that Chicanos living in the "Barrio Latino" paid their fair share of city taxes but didn't get an equal share of city services. In the 1880s *El Fronterizo* proposed a Chicano boycott of Tucson's Anglo merchants because some would not let Chicanos shop in their stores. In 1894 Santa Fe's *El Gato* printed an editorial on "The Capitalist and the Worker" that condemned local employers for extracting the labor of Chicano workers without paying decent wages.

A number of new Spanish-language newspapers were begun in the first two decades of the twentieth century as civil strife in México and the promises of mine operators and growers brought a new wave of immigrants from México.

Some of the newspapers, such as Ricardo Flores Magon's *Regeneración,* were organs for political movements in México. Others, such as San Antonio's *La Prensa,* were founded by former Mexican newspapermen who had moved to the United States.

A 1970 compilation identified nearly 200 Spanish-language newspapers that had been published in the five Southwestern states between 1848 and 1942. And, although in 1954 a sociologist had predicted that the Spanish-language press would die within fifteen years, it continued to develop during the 1970s. The number of U.S. Spanish-language dailies numbered nine in 1981.

But the biggest growth has been in Spanish-language broadcasting, both radio and television. Radio stations began programing Spanish during the 1920s, often at odd hours of the early morning or weekends when English-language listeners were scarce. After World War II more stations began programing in Spanish, and a growing number of Southwestern stations did so on a full-time basis. By the 1980s more than 600 stations were airing Spanish programs, about 120 of them as their main format.

Almost all Spanish-language radio stations are commercial operations that turn a profit by cultivating their low-income and language-dependent audience as a consumer market for advertisers. Most stations are owned and managed by Anglos and staffed by Latinos from Latin America, not local Latinos. Station formats are heavily dependent on music, most of it imported from Latin America, with a sprinkling of news, public affairs, and other informational spots.

Seeing the success of the Spanish-language broadcasters in attracting national advertisers, the Spanish-language print media also adopted more sophisticated marketing and advertising techniques. In one advertisement in the trade magazine *Advertising Age*, the Los Angeles Spanish-language daily *La Opinion* promised to show advertisers "How to Wrap Up the Spanish-Speaking Dollar." In a brochure for advertisers, the same newspaper stated, "The Mexican American is very brand conscious. Even with a limited disposable income, he will buy the most familiar (and usually the more expensive) brands of foods and liquors."

In highlighting the exploitation of their audience and allowing advertisers to prey on it, Spanish-language media become part of the system of exploitation. Their growth is dependent on their ability to attract a large Latino audience with low-cost programing and deliver that audience to advertisers as a consumer market ripe for exploitation. Since most stations also have minimal budgets for news and public affairs programs, they also fail to equip the Latino people with the information necessary to make substantive improvements in their condition.

In addition to the extractive nature of the commercial media, the pattern of Anglo control and heavy dependence on Latin American program sources makes the relations between Latinos and Spanish-language media analogous to the situation in Third World countries. In these nations also the people are targets of media controlled by outsiders and programs produced in other countries. Thus, Latinos share with other Third World people a basic contradiction in dealing with the media that consider them their main audience; the media are operated for the benefit of the dominating group and not the audience.

Bilingual/Bicultural Media

The third media subsystem affecting Latinos can be described as bilingual/bicultural media. This level includes media that are directed at the Latino audience in English or a combination of Spanish and English. The first widespread use of this form came in the mid-1960s with the bilingual alternative media used by activists to arouse and organize Latinos around important issues.

These media are different from traditional forms in that their "profit" is measured in terms of dissemination of information and development of awareness among the audience, not in monetary terms.

Latino alternative media are most often operated as part of a community organization or a media collective, are staffed by community members who are often not media professionals, and provide information and analysis that is usually not presented in the established media. Their language, like the language of the people they are a part of, is usually a blend of Spanish and English, with frequent homegrown expressions in "barrio Spanish."

Latino alternative media include movement periodicals, alternative radio programing, guerrilla teatros (theatrical groups), filmmakers, videotape producers, and book publishers. Such media can play a useful role in providing needed information and interpretation on issues of importance to Latinos.

A newer entrant, but also rapidly growing, is U.S. Spanish-language television, which began in San Antonio. The 1981 *Broadcasting Yearbook* listed television stations broadcasting in Spanish to U.S. audiences, some of them from the Mexican side of the border. There are Spanish-language full-time television stations in most major Southwestern metropolitan areas as well as Chicago, New York, and Miami.

The stations depend on imported programs produced and aired in Latin America. The largest U.S. network, Spanish International Network (SIN), is 75 percent owned by Mexico's Televisa television network and serves as an export market for the Mexican-produced programs.

Latino communities also have a full complement of record stores, movie theaters, and newsstands. But, like their broadcast counterparts, these media outlets are highly dependent on imports from Latin American countries. Just as Spanish-language broadcasters rely on records and programs from Latin America for their programing, barrio movie theaters generally show films produced across the border. Record stores are filled with tapes and records by artists from Latin America. Newsstands offer primarily magazines and newspapers published in Latin America.

Thus, the Latinos in the United States are largely a secondary audience for much of the Spanish-language media directed toward them. The language is the same, but there is a difference in the socioeconomic status of Latinos in Latin America (where we are the majority) compared to the United States (where we are a minority). Although some reinforcement of the identity with Latin America can have a positive effect, near total dependence on such media content can redirect the audience's attention away from the immediate reality in the United States. The domination of media content also serves to block local Latino talent from media exposure, limits information on local issues, and works against the building of a Latino identity based on life in the United States.

One group that has realized the potential influence of Spanish-language media in the United States has been the national and local advertisers who ride on the television and radio airwaves to reach Latino consumers. In the 1970s advertising publications began touting the "Spanish gold" that alert corporations could extract from the barrios. Attracted by what was called a "$31 billion consumer market," the advertisers invested more of their money in cultivating Latino consumers.

The Spanish-language broadcasters were quick to sell themselves as the most effective way to penetrate and persuade the Latino market. Some even played on the low socioeconomic status of their audience as a plus for advertisers. For instance, Spanish International Network told potential advertisers, "Latins are brand buyers because, for many, advertised brands represent a status symbol!" The same network showed that Latinos must spend more of their household budgets for groceries and that advertisers using Spanish-language television have sharply increased their sales.

For instance, when a Los Angeles deputy sheriff killed journalist Rubén Salazar in 1970, *La Raza,* a local Chicano newspaper, furnished photographs of the events surrounding the shooting to local newspapers and the community. In the late 1960s El Teatro Campesino (The Farmworkers' Theater) toured the nation to raise awareness of the Chicano identity, the grape boycott, and other issues of importance to farmworkers. In the early 1970s Albuquerque's *El Grito del Norte* exposed mismanagement of a large foundation-funded project that was supposed to help low-income rural residents but actually produced few benefits for them. San Francisco's *El Tecolote* worked with community groups in the mid-1970s to persuade the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company to provide bilingual operator service for its many Spanish-speaking customers.

Chicano book publishers, such as Berkeley's Quinto Sol Publications and El Paso's Mictla Publications, produced several Chicano best sellers in the early 1970s. Commercial publishing houses often consider books by Latino authors either too political or too limited in appeal to warrant publication. Thus, when Denver's Rudolfo "Corky" Gonzales wrote his epic poem "I Am Joaquin" in the mid-1960s, he published it himself. The poem became instantly popular among Chicano activists, was later made into a film, and subsequently reprinted by Bantam Books.

Latino alternative newspapers, many of them based on college campuses, have made creative use of offset print technology in displaying stories, pictures, and graphics. Many feature full-page pictures on the front page and elaborate borders. While some, like *El Popo* at California State University, Northridge, have been published continuously since the early 1970s, most have relatively short lives. A cause of this turnover is the lack of adequate financial backing and a constantly fluctuating staff. One publication that survived through the 1970s was San Francisco's *El Tecolote,* which began in 1970.

"We of *El Tecolote* see ourselves as an important political collective," reads a statement issued by the editorial staff. "*El Tecolote* is the major focus of our work. As writers we have a role to disseminate accurate information. We realize that the existing newspapers in the Mission, and the mass media in general, cannot be counted on to bring about any positive social, cultural and political awareness."

El Tecolote is operated collectively by the group, which is organized into subcommittees responsible for different aspects in operating the newspaper. The newspaper, which is circulated free, supports itself through limited advertising and contributions from supporters.

Other forms of Latino bilingual media include radio programs that mix community information with music, theatrical groups that blend political messages into their acts, and filmmakers who explore controversial topics commercial media usually avoid.

In the 1970s the bilingual format became more apparent in other, more traditional, media forms. El Teatro Campesino's organizers wrote and produced a bilingual hit play, *Zoot Suit,* which exhausted several runs in Los Angeles and

opened on New York's Broadway. In Santa Rosa, California, local Chicanos started a bilingual noncommercial radio station. Nationally syndicated educational television programs such as "Sesame Street," "Villa Alegre," and "Qué Pasa, USA?" used bilingual dialogue.

Other English-language or bilingual media were developed to address Latinos along cultural, if not linguistic, loyalties. *Nuestro,* a New York-based English-language magazine for Latinos, was started in 1977. Other magazines in English or bilingual formats included California's *Lowrider,* New York's *Latin NY,* and Washington D.C.'s *Agenda.*

The bilingual message was also found in the traditional media. Mainstream advertisers, such as Coca-Cola, printed billboards with messages in both Spanish and English. Sears-Roebuck made its catalogue available in Spanish. The movie *Superman II* was simultaneously released in Spanish and English in the United States, with advertising campaigns to match in the two languages. Bantam paperback books announced plans to print and release Spanish and English versions of popular books in the United States.

As the United States continued through the 1980s, the use of bilingual/bicultural media continued to increase. The prospects for such media appeared to be bright, given the increasingly bilingual abilities of the Latino audience. However, as the media became increasingly commercial, it was also clear that some of the idealistic motivation that spurred the development of bilingual/bicultural media in the mid-1960s had not been carried through by others who adopted the format for economic gain.

Conclusion

Given the current and projected growth of Latinos in the United States, it is clear that Latinos will continue to have a growing impact on existing and developing media systems. What this impact will be is not yet clear. Much of the progress in Anglo media will depend on the upward mobility of Latinos already working in the profession and the fresh ideas of younger Latinos who enter that field. Spanish-language media, which experienced tremendous growth in the 1960s and 1970s, will continue to develop if Latinos continue to prefer Spanish over English. However, there is a great need for development of local production and content for these media. Bilingual/bicultural media appear to have the greatest potential for growth, but there are serious problems of format and presentation to be overcome when more than one language is used in a single medium.

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The Special Case of Spanish-Language Television

19

Jan Jarboe

Jan Jarboe is a reporter for the *San Antonio Light*. This article appeared in the November 1980 issue of *Washington Journalism Review*. It is used with permission.

Nearly 20 million Hispanics live in the U.S. Soon they will be the nation's largest minority. But as their television habits reveal, they are resisting the American melting pot.

While millions of TV-watching Americans are preoccupied with who shot J. R. and will Mork marry Mindy, a huge bloc of Hispanics are asking a completely different set of television questions, and they are asking them in Spanish.

By conservative estimates, 12 million Hispanics watch Spanish-language television during any given week. They watch it in places like Los Angeles and Miami, and Tombstone, Ariz., and Marfa, Tex.

What they see mostly are novellas, emotion-filled soap operas that run as long as 200 episodes and—unlike their English counterparts—have endings. The novellas, the staple of Spanish TV, use top Mexican movie stars and are made in Mexico.

Hispanics also watch elaborate variety shows, soccer games, boxing, and a one-hour newscast, all from Mexico. And, occasionally they look at domestically produced programs aimed at uniting Hispanics for a political purpose, such as registering to vote or getting counted in the 1980 census.

The Hispanics who watch Spanish-language TV are, by and large, invisible to the rest of the country. They may flirt with the big networks—NBC, ABC, and CBS—but they are devoted to SIN—Spanish International Network. SIN links 62 cities that have large Hispanic populations. Only three Spanish-language TV stations in the United States operate independently of SIN.

The surge in Spanish-language TV is a direct result of the increase in Hispanic population, which has grown 14.3 percent in the last five years.

Hispanics, who now number an estimated 19.8 million, including legal and illegal residents, are expected to overtake blacks as the nation's biggest minority

Bilingualism, as defined by the dictionary, means the use of two languages. For Hispanics, the ideal of bilingualism has become a mark of cultural pride that separates them from other groups of immigrants who succumbed to "cultural and linguistic colonization" by the Anglo majority.

Bilingual education programs in public schools are under criticism from several fronts. Hispanics argue the programs are doomed because of too little funding and too few teachers. Others say Spanish-speaking children are relying on bilingual classes in order to maintain Spanish and are, in fact, not in a state of transition to English.

No matter how widespread the clamor is concerning bilingual programs, the simple truth is Hispanics have demonstrated an unwillingness to give up the Spanish language. Sheer numbers alone will give them the necessary clout to influence public decisions regarding bilingualism.

As a practical matter, however, Americans who cannot speak English are at a disadvantage when it comes to the scramble for education and jobs.

Polish-Americans do not have Polish-language television. Italian-Americans do not have Italian-language television. The proliferation of Spanish-language TV is a special case and it adds fuel to what Hispanics claim is only a paranoid Anglo concern—that Hispanics clinging to their language and culture will create the same kind of factionalism in the United States that has plagued Canada and other countries.

That concern is the most profound in the Southwest where Mexican-Americans, the largest group under the Hispanic umbrella, are an estimated 7.2 million strong. There have been widespread predictions that Mexican-Americans may become a nation-within-a-nation in such states as Texas, where one out of four residents are Mexican-American, and California, where the number is one out of five.

Hispanic leaders argue that fears of a Hispanic takeover are unfounded. They say Hispanics in the U.S. are here by choice and do not have loyalty for the systems they left behind in Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Cuba.

Hispanics may clutch their culture and use Spanish TV as a diversion that keeps them in contact with that culture, but they do not embrace the political and economic systems of countries from which they fled, their leaders say.

"Mexican-Americans have plenty of understanding that they are Americans. Anglo is only a culture. English is only a part of a culture. There is no law which says an American has to be an English-speaking Anglo," says Emilio Nickolas, senior vice president of SIN.

José Serrano, a New York assemblyman who represents a predominantly Puerto Rican district, says: "We are American citizens in Puerto Rico and we speak Spanish and enjoy our culture while we are in Puerto Rico. Why should we be forced to give up our language and our culture when we come to New York?"

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